



Cutting edge... American John Daly turned heads when he appeared for the Scandinavian Masters with his blond curls completely shorn. The Samson of professional golf, hitherto known as 'The Wild Thing', is now making waves as 'Long John Baldy'. PHOTOGRAPH: ARNE FORSELL

## Golf Scandinavian Masters

## Parnevik, the local hero, raises Ryder challenge

Michael Britten in Malmö

JESPER PARNEVIK came home to a hero's welcome here on Sunday when he won the Volvo Scandinavian Masters by five strokes from the European No 1 Colin Montgomerie. A final round of 67 enabled the American-based golfer from Stockholm to become the first Swede to win a European Tour event in his own country.

The 30-year-old Parnevik had an 18-under-par total of 270 at the Barseback club and confirmed that he is on the verge of becoming one of the major figures in the European game.

Runner-up to Nick Price in the Open championship at Turnberry last year, he has spent this season establishing himself on the US Tour. He returned to Europe in the hope of making a late challenge for a Ryder Cup place and, whether or not he succeeds, there have been few more impressive performances under pressure. He has lifted himself to 18th in the Ryder Cup rankings.

Parnevik began with two rounds of 67 on one of the strongest European courses. He added a third of 69 to move three clear of the field, then swept to victory before an ecstatic crowd of 30,000.

His only error in four days was a double bogey at the third on the third day. Montgomerie, who shot 69 but was trumped by Parnevik's salvo of three birdies in the last five holes, said: "To play like that with

the whole of Sweden on his back was wonderful."

Mark Roe's bizarre behaviour in the final round of the tournament, after which he was disqualified, is likely to get him into further trouble with officialdom.

The World Cup golfer from Sheffield had 10s at the 12th and 16th and took 11 at the 13th, in totalling 58 strokes for the inward half. He was then disqualified after signing for a 94, one fewer than he had actually taken.

His partner, Mark Litton, complained to the tournament director, John Parmer, about Roe's behaviour, citing an instance at the 12th where he struck a six-inch putt 10 yards off the green and had to use a wedge for his next shot, and another at the 13th, where Roe had six putts. It was there that he also incurred a two-stroke penalty for striking a moving ball.

Roe, who was fined by Parmer in Paris two years ago for tipping a plate of spaghetti over the head of a fellow professional, Russell Claydon, in a restaurant, blamed an injury to his left knee for his erratic golf.

● Nick Faldo has called for a change in the Ryder Cup selection process so that Europe can field their strongest team. He said in the US that he is upset that the European captain, Bernard Gallacher, will have only two choices to add to the 10 players who qualify on points and added: "For the good of the Ryder Cup we must have our best guys."

## Sailing

## Fastnet is off to slow start

Bob Fisher

THE first day of the Fastnet race on Saturday, which is also the culminating event of the Admiral's Cup, was marked by sharp contrast in weather conditions. Brisk 22-knot squalls overnight were opposed by a general calm from Lyme Bay westwards.

The 242-boat fleet was well spread and for most competition progress was painfully slow, particularly those boats which failed to get through the tidal "gate" and make the last of the ebb tide at Portland Bill to get the advantage of the favourable current to cross Lyme Bay. Only a handful of boats managed an almost essential ingredient to fast time around the 605-mile course.

Ludde Ingvall's Nicorette was first out past the Needles pursued by Mike Slade's Longhorda and Jean-Rene Bannwart's Whitbread 60 Corum. Behind them came James Dolan's Sagamore, George Comoutarous's Boomerange and Matthew Humphries with another Whitbread 60, Viper. The first three made a break early on but Sagamore, by persisting inshore, had joined them by Start Point, just over 100 miles down the track.

The battle between the United States and Italy in the Admiral's Cup is extremely close. The Italians, after 21 hours, had a three-place advantage in this race but need a total of five places better than the Americans in order to win the Cup.

Rinaldo del Bono's Capricorno was third in the big boat class and Bob Towse's Blue Yankee was fifth; Britain's Seahorse, skippered by Robin Aisher, was leading.

In the ILC-40s class David Clarke's Pig in Space was third, one place ahead of Pasquale Landolfi's Brava Q8, in turn one place in front of Harold Cudmore's Astro.

Italy had another two-place advantage in the Mumm 38 class, in which Paolo Gala's Mumm-A Mia was fourth and Jim Brady's No Problem was sixth. Between them was Mike Golding's Mumm.

The indications are that this will be a quiet Fastnet. There seems little chance of strong wind and certainly nothing approaching the gales which raked it 16 years ago, caused the death of 17 competitors.

The race can be divided into three: from Cowes to Lundy, out and back to the Fastnet Rock, and home from the Isles of Scilly. Each part is tackled differently and the change-overs can be dramatic.

This year's race is being run against a forecast of a gradient breeze from the east, rather than the prevailing south-westerlies. Skippers and navigators preparing for the race were all rethinking their strategies just before the start.

Vol 153, No 8  
Week ending August 20, 1995

## Japan PM offers apology for war

Kavin Rafferty in Tokyo

JAPAN'S prime minister, Tomiichi Murayama, commemorated the 50th anniversary of Japan's surrender at the end of the second world war by offering his "heartfelt apologies" for the suffering that Japan had caused, the first time that a leader has used the elusive word "apology".

In the eyes of victims, he took some of the merit away by toning down his words at the formal public memorial service for the war dead and only offering more conventional expressions of sorrow.

"That war caused huge pain and sorrow to many nations, especially those in Asia. I humbly accept this fact and... offer sincere condolences," he said.

He made it plain that the apology did not mean that Japan would accept the victims' demands for compensation. It was not clear how many of his government were committed to Mr Murayama's apology, a fact that was underlined when most of the Liberal Democratic party members of his cabinet turned up at the nationalist Shinto Yasukuni shrine where convicted and hanged war criminals are enshrined as gods.

Outside, rightwing nationalists made their feelings plain. "If Murayama and other politicians want to apologise, let them slit their bellies and apologise," one group yelled.



Murayama: 'heartfelt apologies'

## Greenpeace protest in China

Jeffrey Parker in Beijing

POLICE detained six Greenpeace activists on Tuesday after they unfurled protest banners in Beijing's Tiananmen Square demanding that China end its nuclear tests.

The protest was timed to coincide with Beijing's rumoured plans to hold a nuclear test in the next seven days and its announcement of missile tests off the east coast near Taiwan.

The detained activists in-

cluded Greenpeace's executive director, Thilo Bode, and the national directors from the four other nuclear states, who entered China on tourist visas. A Foreign Ministry official declined to comment on the protest. Beijing has pledged to stop nuclear testing once a global Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty comes into force and says it backs moves to put the pact into effect in 1996. — *Reuters*

Clinton pledge, page 5

## The Guardian Weekly



Two Serb refugees take a rest after arriving in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Banja Luka. PHOTOGRAPH: SRJAN LUC

## UN confirms massacre

Guardian Reporters

A UNITED NATIONS investigation has found that Bosnian Serb soldiers committed wholesale human rights abuses after the fall of the Muslim enclave of Srebrenica last month, including mass executions and beatings. A UN report supports earlier press and US government allegations of mass killings.

The International Committee of the Red Cross said last week that at least 6,000 people are missing in eastern Bosnia. US officials believe up to 12,000 are unaccounted for, and say 2,700 may be buried in a mass grave near Srebrenica.

On Monday, the US assistant secretary of state, Richard Holbrooke, arrived in Croatia to try to negotiate a settlement of the three-year old war. But warring factions showed no sign they were ready to compromise, as fighting flared in central Bosnia.

The first boatloads of Croats were sent across the Sava river from Serb-held Bosnia on Monday and thousands more were expected to follow in a forced exodus. The Serbs were purging the Banja Luka area of Croats and Muslims in revenge for the flight of 150,000 Serb refugees from the rebel Krajina region captured by Croatia last week.

Refugee crisis, page 4  
Martin Woollacott, page 12

## High-level defections shake Saddam

Shyam Bhatia

TEN HIGH ranking Iraqi officers, including two generals, have been arrested in a purge following the defection to Jordan of two sons-in-law of President Saddam Hussein, an Iraqi opposition party said on Monday.

Scores of lower-ranking officers were also arrested, according to the Supreme Council for Islamic Resistance in Iraq.

Baghdad was cut off from the world and elite units of soldiers placed on alert at the weekend as President's Saddam's son-in-law, Lieutenant-General Hussein Kamel, publicly challenged the Iraqi dictator by urging the army to take over.

At a press conference in Jordan, where he sought asylum last week, Hussein Kamel called "on officers of the Iraqi army, officers of the Republican Guard, officers of the Special Guard, civil servants and all elements of Iraqi society to be ready for the important change that will make Iraq a modern state, dealing realistically with the international community."

As he spoke in the grounds of the Baghdad Palace in Amman, Jordanian sources disclosed that all tele-

phone lines to and from Iraq had been cut without explanation.

The former Iraqi minister of industry and defence, until last week one of President Saddam's most powerful and notorious lieutenants, said his country was in a parlous state: "It is well known that Iraq's policy is isolated and the economic situation is very bad... we are not interested in solving our problems; rather we want to intensify problems with other countries."

Hussein Kamel, reviled by state-run Iraqi newspapers as a "traitor dwarf" who had sold out to foreign powers, claimed he had tried to persuade the dictator to alter course, without success.

For sheer chutzpah, there are not many in Saddam's entourage who can match Hussein Kamel. Once he decided to leave, he set off in his Mercedes in an official motorcade for the Jordanian border, along with his brother, Colonel Saddam Kamel — head of Saddam Hussein's personal security — their children and wives, the dictator's daughters Raghad and Rana, and 15 army officers. Only his closest supporters knew their destination was a life in exile in Jordan.

"I left in a very natural way," Hus-

sein Kamel said. "I am a known person; a few soldiers cannot stop me. There were so many cars travelling. I had a large entourage and security."

The loss of Hussein Kamel is a serious blow to the dictatorship. He was head of the country's Military Industrial Commission, a bureaucratic continued on page 7

Ross Perot holds court in Dallas 6

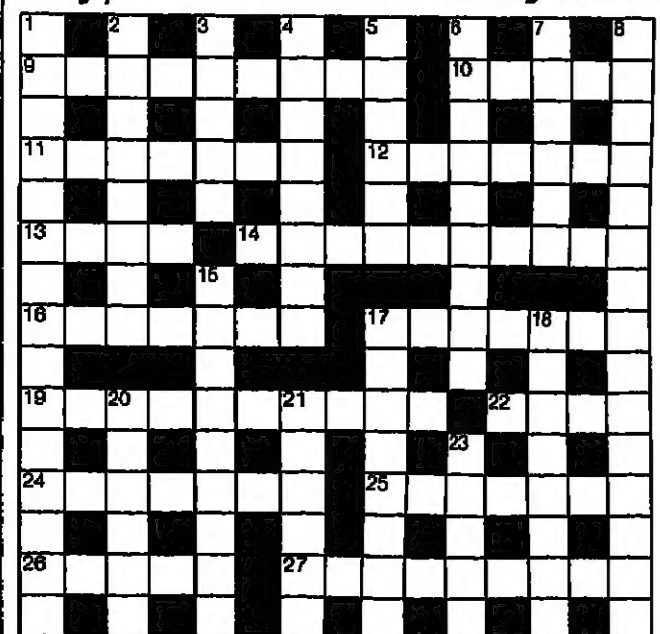
Hutus left to rot in jail 7

Water, source of the next war 13

Haight-Ashbury's hero dies at 53 27

Austria	AS 30	Mette	45c
Belgium	BF 75	Netherlands	G 4.4p
Denmark	DK 16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 9.80	Portugal	E300
France	FF 18	Spain	P 275
Germany	DM 3.80	Sweden	SK 17
Greece	GR 400	Switzerland	SF 3.30
Italy	L 3,000	Thailand	60 Baht

## Cryptic crossword by Rufus



## Across

- 9 Upholstery material that is harsh or rough (9)
- 10 The kind of crust found only on the best pies? (5)
- 11 Discovers what one does to a dress that's too tight? (4,3)
- 12 For reform, a little bat gets bent over? (7)
- 13 Last deranged and demoted (4)
- 14 Reckless, having an indiscreet cocktail (10)
- 16 He takes one's foreign money for a start (7)
- 17 Smoked by the great man in bed (7)

## Down

- 19 Encouraging number in audition (10)
- 22 Churchwarden's hose (4)
- 24 Fifty snakes — and their game partners (7)
- 25 Odd way to go from place to place (7)
- 26 A comfortable recess? (5)
- 27 Be quick to show pride in appearance (4,5)
- 1 Prize whopper involving topography? (3,2,3,4)
- 2 Capital turn of a pierrot (8)
- 3 Live down under (5)

- 4 Not a good place for Harold, as things turned out (8)
- 5 One in iron may be guillotined for attempted assassination (6)
- 6 New speed cuts thought likely (8)
- 7 Strongly disapprove of what a model will do after work? (6)
- 8 Well protected, gum-shield and all? (5,2,3,5)
- 15 Sprawling cat rested, all spread out (9)
- 17 Where water speed records were set — not soic however (8)
- 18 Eastern trail one meandered (8)
- 20 A pot-hunter? (6)
- 21 Settle down in Northern steel organisation (8)
- 23 Come up with more money (5)

## Last week's solution

FLATSPIN MARKED  
I P E N R N O  
A P P O I S E M A N T I A C  
N L A A E C Y T K  
G R E A M B R Y G R A T I V  
E S E L A N T I A  
D O G G S T I N N E R  
S K O P P P D Q D  
M O N T E R E T I A  
O A L R D S A P  
U N P A I D D I S T A N C E  
L B V S A N A  
D U A R I E S T U R D E O N  
E O R E V K U  
R A K I N G D I A M E T E R

## Motor Cycling

## It's so easy for Fogarty

THERE was a pilgrimage to Brands Hatch on Sunday, not for a miracle but to savour the expected. Unlikely as it sounds, it was to see a British world champion reinforcing his status as the best in the world, writes Peter Nichols.

About 40,000 fans turned out to see Carl Fogarty do it with perfunctory ease, taking both legs of the World Superbike round to advance his lead in the championship to 136 points, ahead of the Australian Troy Corser. With only four rounds (eight races) of the championship remaining, Fogarty will find it harder to lose his title than retain it.

Fogarty is quick to berate grand prix racing — it will not survive when Doohan goes, he recently suggested — but his superiority in the Superbike division is beginning to mirror that of Doohan.

The Lancastrian broke James Whitham's lap record on the sixth lap and was never threatened. For half a dozen or so laps the crowd rose as Fogarty passed. Then the wave of applause fell to a ripple. It was all too easy.

Race two replicated the first. Fogarty, carving a second lap, more or less, out of his rivals in the early part, sat on his lead mid-race and then eased down over the final two or three laps of the 25.











For the Republicans the goal was  
inverse: to flatter Perot into stay-

Like the early SDP in Britain, G

- ❑ **Drastic cuts in public spending** to reduce the national debt.
- ❑ **Reform of political campaign financing**, to prevent "special interests" buying up politicians.
- ❑ **Term-limits.** Restrictions on how long congressmen and senators can stay in office.
- ❑ **Protectionism.** Termination of free-trade treaties and assertion of an America First trade policy.

In this the Republicans, and Newt Gingrich in particular, have been

Now these ideas have become commonplace. They are the clichéd gripes of the Angry White Males; they are, when amplified, the shouted claims of the armed militias and conspiracy theorists, whose outer fringe apparently spawned the Oklahoma City bombing. Today they are understood to be the defining trend in US politics, but Perot said them first.

The evidence that Perot's paranoid brand of antipathy to govern-

—adding that vanity alone will make it hard for Perot to sit on the sidelines in 1996. "It wouldn't surprise me if you see Ross in there," says Jim Squires, who served as Ross' secretary last time round. "After all, even a king has to have

Walker is on holiday.

**M**ICKY MANTLE, the legendary baseball player, died aged 63. He was closely identified with the glory of the New York Yankees; though he led to seven World Series titles between 1951 and

who sympathise with his sisters and their husbands. Identifying pockets of resistance will also be a priority of CIA and State Department officials when they arrive in Amman this week to debrief Israeli rebels. — *The Observer*

business hours. Alternatively  
the coupon.

Woolwich Guernsey. We

wipe away the competition's files.

the jungle," says Brigitte Troyon of the IRC. "The poor and the elderly have no chance. They get pushed into the open courtyard where they die or just lose the will to live."

Even the government admits that up to a third of the suspects may have been wrongly imprisoned. It says it is committed to resolving the overcrowding but it needs more time. "You have to remember there was a genocide," says the justice minister, Alphonse-Marie Nkubutu. "There is an obligation for the international community to give us more help. We don't want to see the prisoners dead, we want them alive and judged."

Judgment may come too late for most inmates in Gitarama prison. One thousand have already died and many more will perish before the courts begin working.

# Tiers of joy.

Current Interest Rates (variable) Gross p.a.	
BALANCE	RATES
£500 – £9,999	5.73%
£10,000 – £39,999	6.50%
£40,000 – £99,999	6.60%
£100,000 – £249,999	6.73%
£250,000+	6.85%

Woodhich Gierhsey. We wipe away the competition's tears

\_\_\_\_\_

[illegible]



The Week in Britain James Lewis

## Blair and his 'kitchen cabinet' come under fire

TONY BLAIR'S honeymoon as leader of the "new" Labour party effectively ended last week when his policies and managerial style came under assault from several quarters. It was, admittedly, the height of the August "silly season", but the attacks were of sufficient gravity to cause the fax in the leader's Italian holiday villa to whirl into a frenzy.

The first to weigh in was Richard Burden, a little-known backbencher, who accused Mr Blair's "kitchen cabinet" of adopting a Stalinist leadership style aimed at stamping out dissent in a ruthless quest for power. He accused the party of abandoning its core beliefs and, like many other traditionalists, criticised its tactics in the recent Littleborough and Saddleworth by-election, when personal attacks were mounted on the victorious Liberal Democrat candidate.

It was not too difficult for the party's high command to scorn Mr Burden as a disappointed navel-gazer. It was harder to dismiss claims by the former deputy leader, Roy Hattersley, that Mr Blair has been so obsessed with wooing middle-class voters that the party has not spoken up for the poor.

Nor can Mr Blair safely ignore powerful trade union leaders such as John Edmonds and Bill Morris. Mr Edmonds of the GMB protested that the new leader had forced through too many changes too quickly and had showed a total inability to compromise. He particularly castigated him for praising Lady Thatcher and travelling to Australia to court the media baron, Rupert Murdoch.

The left-wing Mr Morris, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, joined in with complaints of intolerance, of personally attacking political opponents and of "playing the man rather than the ball". This could well be a veiled reference to the recent, unsuccessful attempt to replace him with a leader more to Mr Blair's liking.

A final, stinging blow came on Monday from Bryan Gould, the former front-bencher who quit politics for the academic life in New Zealand. New Labour was now a party without an ideology, seeking only to please the public, he said. This was "FA Cup politics", in which winning power was all that mattered. First-time voters, with no knowledge of Labour's traditions and beliefs, would not be able to distinguish between it and any other party.

Mr Blair's approach could well be right. The party is on target to more than double its membership to 350,000 by the autumn. More than half of them will have joined since Mr Blair took office and have no political or trade union roots. In the same period, however, some 40,000 longer-standing members have failed to renew their subscriptions.

WOMEN have loosened the shackles of domestic drudgery, only to become weary drones in the workplace according to a Government report, compiled by the Central Statistical Office.

Researchers found that women's invasion of the workplace has eroded the sexual division of labour that cast women as homemakers and men as breadwinners. They

now account for nearly 45 per cent of the paid workforce, compared with 37 per cent in 1971.

Their jobs, however, are still less well paid: 33 per cent of women earn under £190 a week compared with 13 per cent of men. And few women, it seems, have managed to persuade men to share domestic responsibility. This makes most of them doubly burdened: unable to compete properly at work, and too stressed to use their free time imaginatively.

Comment, page 12

LORD LUCAN, the wayward gambler and seventh earl, disappeared 21 years ago after his family's nanny, Sandra Rivett, was found bludgeoned to death. He may be dead. Or he could just be lying low — in Africa, some policemen believe.

Either way, he could soon face trial by celluloid. Two rival films about his life are being planned. One, an extravagant Hollywood production, will seek to show that Lucan did murder the nanny. The other, a more modest British work, will suggest his innocence.

Both face formidable legal problems. The main one concerns the prejudicial effect they could have on the trial Lucan would face if he were found. There are also concerns about the aspersions the films could cast on Lucan's wealthy friends, many of whom are still alive.

THE IDEA of banning private cars from city centres is, for the first time, supported by a majority of the British public, according to an opinion poll for the Guardian. The poll was taken after a long hot spell which has pushed traffic-generated ozone levels above recognised danger levels, and the Government is now consulting local authorities who want powers to shut city centres when air pollution rises to danger point.

The poll found a majority — 57 per cent of drivers and non-drivers — in favour of allowing only buses and taxis to enter city centres. Only 20 per cent of those polled thought the present traffic-free-for-all in city centres should be allowed to continue.

Restricting congested areas to taxis and buses is but one suggestion. Others include doubling the price of fuel, and halving the rate of road-building, using the savings to improve public transport. But no action is likely before a general election.



Southern Water workers use an electro-magnetic pipe tracer to locate seepage

## Water bans spread with drought

Guardian Reporters

DRUGHT is gripping Britain after the driest spell for 20 years, and with no prospect of rain in sight water companies are warning of continuing shortages with widespread hosepipe bans.

As the dry spell continued the Hadley Centre for Climate Prediction in Berkshire published latest research into climate change which showed temperatures in Britain are expected to climb steadily over the next few decades, confirming scientists' worst fears.

Most areas of England have had no rain at all so far in August when 3in (76mm) is the average. Apart from thunderstorms, very few areas have had any rain since mid-June and some have had none at all.

Labour and the privatised water companies last week clashed over claims by the shadow environment secretary, Frank Dobson, that the industry had failed to invest to stop widespread water leakages.

The Water Services Association (WSA), which represents the companies, accused Labour of using its customers as "pawns in a party political campaign" and said people wanted to be told the facts.

It blamed a succession of governments before 1989, but particularly

Labour, for refusing to put up enough public money to allow the industry to improve the water supply system.

The WSA claimed that decades of governmental neglect could not be put right overnight.

However, Mr Dobson, who last week published a Labour report criticising the companies' performances in tackling leaks, attacked them for making large profits at the expense of improved supplies. About half of Britain's population — more than 26 million people — could have their water needs met in full from the quantities being wasted through leaking supply pipes, he claimed.

"Last year the 10 privatised water companies made £1.8 billion profits. Labour believes that given profits of this size, the water companies should be required to do more to stop their own leaks and help customers stop leaks from their own taps and pipes."

Two water chiefs on Sunday defended their high profits and record of investment as the threat of emergency drought orders extended from Yorkshire to both North West and South West Water.

Stuart Derwent, the managing director of Southern Water Services, which has banned hosepipes in

800,000 homes in Sussex, said the company's water leakage — running at 19 1/2 million gallons a day — had been drastically reduced.

"Six years ago 26 per cent of water was being lost but last year the figure had been brought down to 14 per cent. We're still working very hard on it, because we want to see it lower."

With profits of £143 million last year, Southern spent £3 m dealing with leaks, said Mr Derwent, whose salary is £169,000; a further £54,000 in share options.

The accusations of underinvestment from an agreement between the Government and the water companies before privatisation which lowered the introduction of infrastructure renewals accounts, estimated at privatisation to be £1.5 billion, are long-term working order.

The SRP claimed that by March 1994 the difference between cash received and cash spent on infrastructure renewals was more than £400 million for the 10 water companies.

In 1993/94 Ian Byatt, director general of the water regulator Ofwat, found an underspend by companies of £25 million on water pipes and £26 million on sewerage, total of £51 million.

## 'Sex lessons promote early sex' claim is myth

Chris Mihill

YOUNG people who are given sex education at school start their sex lives later, take fewer partners and are more responsible about contraception, researchers said last week. Two studies, published in the latest issue of the British Medical Journal, explode the myth that sex education leads to early sexual experimentation — the evidence is that the opposite is true.

Although high quality sex education is expensive, the researchers say it saves money from the budgets of health, education and social services, quite apart from reducing the misery of unwanted pregnancies, abortions and sexually transmitted diseases.

Doctors and educationists from the department of child health at Exeter University,

headed by Alex Mellanby and John Tripp, implemented a programme in local secondary schools aimed at decreasing sexual activity and increasing knowledge about sex.

Sex lessons provided by doctors, teachers and specially-trained 16-year-old school leavers were given to pupils at ages 13/14, and then again at 14/15. The pupils received up to 30 one-hour lessons. The programme was evaluated when the pupils were aged 16, and compared against groups of students who had not been through it.

The doctors say that pupils outside the 1994 programme were 45 per cent more likely to have had sexual intercourse than those on the course. Those on the programme were more knowledgeable about contraception, and less likely to hold wrong information.

The report points out that medical problems associated with teenage sexual activity are a major health burden — with nearly a third of women under 20 becoming pregnant, and some 40,000 abortions a year amongst teenagers.

Dr Tripp said the programme cost about £45 per pupil, or about £1,000 a class. The education authority in Exeter has now purchased the programme for more of its schools, and it has recently been sold to North Essex, so some 2,000 students will receive it next year, compared with 400 last year.

"Although it is expensive for school budgets it is very cheap compared to the cost to the health service and social services," said Dr Tripp. "There is an argument that the bill should be met by health authorities, not schools."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
AUGUST 20 1995

## Tories claim to hit Blair's weak spot

Nick Wintour

THE Labour party was accused last week of panic after a campaign visit to the West Midlands by the new Conservative chairman, Brian Mawhinney, designed to expose the "loony left in local government", led Labour to announce that it had suspended the Walsall district party.

Conservative officials claimed that Dr Mawhinney's visit had scored a direct hit and that their strategists had finally found Tony Blair's Achilles heel in Labour's local government record.

The suspension, one of many recent disciplinary measures against

Labour local parties, had been agreed in principle last month by the Labour national executive after persistent complaints of intimidation and misconduct.

Labour officials have also been concerned at the lack of consultation within the party and the local electorate over radical plans by the Labour group leader to decentralise services to 54 neighbourhood offices. But in a tactical judgment which has since been questioned, the decision to announce suspension does not appear to have been taken until a meeting of the party's national campaigns committee on Monday last week.

The suspension was designed to defuse the impact of Dr Mawhin-

ney's visit to the West Midlands the following day, as well as to demonstrate that Mr Blair's leadership would not tolerate any malpractice at local level damaging the party's national popularity.

However, critics inside the Labour Party admitted that the tactic may have backfired and only served to bring publicity to Dr Mawhinney's visit.

Mr Blair has been beset by reports of malpractice in Lambeth, Birmingham, Hackney, Monkslands and Tyneside. Walsall borough council, brought under Labour control in May, has already made nine council department chiefs redundant in preparation for its decentral-

isation programme, a long-term aim of Walsall Labour radicals for more than 10 years.

Labour's local government officers met leaders of Walsall's leadership last month to warn them that Labour was not happy about the use of the district party to direct group policy. Concern was also expressed about the policy of decentralisation.

Dr Mawhinney reacted to the suspension by saying: "It seems it takes the visit of the chairman of the Conservative party to a Labour council to force the party to act to deal with the failure of Labour in local government."

Labour councillors in Walsall angrily demanded that the party lead-

ership lift the "ill-judged" suspension of the district party, accusing the leadership of a gaffe and of jeopardising the council's radical decentralisation programme.

The acting council leader, John Rothery, criticised the Tory-inspired "hysteria" over his council's policies and accused Labour headquarters of caving in to the Tory propaganda machine. He demanded the suspension be lifted.

The Labour leadership, however, denied it had been panicked into the suspension by Dr Mawhinney's visit to the West Midlands. Although the suspension was announced the same day, Labour said it had three times warned the Walsall leadership that it was breaching party rules by giving so much power to the district party and failing to consult local people.

"I do bank offshore  
I don't have instant access  
to my money  
do I need the new International  
Debit Card from  
Standard Chartered or  
don't I?"

If you keep money offshore, you may have all the confidence of knowing it is in a secure environment earning a competitive rate of interest. But what about getting your hands on it when you need it? Your offshore bank is probably a long way away

and, until now, getting access to your money may have been a slow and cumbersome process.

### THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DEBIT CARD

Our new International Debit Card can help to put your offshore money right into your hands giving you easy, instant access to it from around the world.

The new Card bears the VISA symbol, allowing you to withdraw local currency from over 180,000 24-hour VISA cash machines around the globe and to make direct payments from your offshore bank account for goods and services at over 11 million outlets worldwide — wherever you see the VISA symbol.

Available with both our Sterling and US Dollar Extra Value Deposit Accounts, the new International Debit Card can help put your offshore funds right into your pocket.

And we're sure that, in answer to the question we've posed above, you'll want to say "I do."

For more information about our new International Debit Card and the Sterling and US Dollar Extra Value Deposit Accounts, please return the coupon below to: Miss Sarah Bouchard, Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Ltd, PO Box 830, Conway Street, St Helier, Jersey JE4 0UF, Channel Islands. Or call us on Jersey +44 (0) 1534 507001. Fax: +44 (0) 1534 507112.

\*Use of the Card is subject to the conditions described in the applicable International Debit Card Terms & Conditions. The International Debit Card is available to Extra Value Deposit Account Customers who hold a minimum of £2,500 or US\$5,000 on their account with the Jersey Office of Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Ltd. The principal place of business of Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Limited in Jersey and its paid-up capital and reserves exceed £20 million. Copies of the latest audited accounts are available on request.

Deposits made with the office of Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Limited in Jersey are not covered by the Deposit Protection Scheme under the UK Banking Act 1987. Jersey is not part of the UK.

To Miss Sarah Bouchard, Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Ltd, PO Box 830, Conway Street, St Helier, Jersey JE4 0UF, Channel Islands. Tel: Jersey +44 (0) 1534 507001. Fax: +44 (0) 1534 507112.

Do you require more information about our new International Debit Card?

Do you require more information about our Sterling Extra Value Deposit Account?

Do you require more information about our US Dollar Extra Value Deposit Account?

Do you require our free booklet "The Do's and Don'ts of Offshore Banking"?

Mr/Ms/Ms/Ms/Ms

Name

Address

Postcode

Telephone

Signature

Date

Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Ltd

Personal Banking International



## Adams steps up pressure for talks

David Sharrook

THE Government on Sunday came under renewed pressure to call all-party talks in Northern Ireland from the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, and the leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, John Hume.

There were minor skirmishes during a republican parade in Belfast when loyalist counter-demonstrators broke through police lines.

Later, Mr Adams addressed a crowd outside Belfast City Hall, warning that the peace process was in danger of unravelling. "I would love to be here today to tell you all that we now have peace," Mr Adams said at the parade, which marked the 24th anniversary of internment. "But you know and I know that we don't have peace. The British govern-

ment's policies, its refusal to engage in this process, its refusal to deal with the prisoners on an even-handed basis and its commitment to bolstering Unionist inflexibility is strangling this opportunity for peace."

He decided suggestions that the IRA would disarm. "There is no and there was no expectation within the British establishment and within Unionism that the IRA would disarm."

Mr Hume, speaking on Irish radio, urged the Government to set a date for all-party talks next month and said he hoped John Major had not adopted the "utterly irresponsible" position of settling just for the absence of paramilitary violence.

Sporadic violence followed clashes at the weekend in Belfast and Londonderry, when riot police forcibly removed demonstrators op-

posed to parades by the Protestant Apprentice Boys, commemorating the 30th anniversary of the siege of Derry. Nobody was injured and the parade passed off quietly, but there were minor disturbances later.

The police handling of the parades is likely to be raised at the next meeting of London and Dublin ministers. RUC deputy chief constable Ronnie Flanagan said the violence had been orchestrated. "Some of those injured and others recognised at the scene were not local."

The first punishment shooting in nearly a year last week prompted claims that the IRA has embarked on a resumption of its campaign of violence.

Simon Murray, aged 21, described from a hospital bed how he was kidnapped, beaten and shot in both elbows by a gang suspected to

be from the IRA. A year ago he was beaten by a paramilitary "punishment squad", also believed to have been from the IRA.

Since the ceasefire, loyalists and republicans are thought to have carried out 170 beatings. The Ulster Unionist MP, Ken Maginnis, said the shooting proved that the IRA was continuing with its rolling resumption of violence, which he forecast in June. "This was as much a signal to the Government as a punishment attack."

Families Against Intimidation and Terror, which campaigns against paramilitary violence, called on the IRA to say whether it was involved.

"The violence has escalated, the beatings are horrific since the ceasefire. Now we are back into a situation where they are going to shoot them?" asked Nancy Gracey.

### In Brief

**THE RAF** will have to pay £2.2 billion more for its Eurofighter force than projected 10 years ago, according to figures obtained by the shadow defence secretary, David Clark. Germany's threat to withdraw from the four-nation project failed to halt rising costs.

**THE LAW Society** is to re-examine its publicly code after disclosures that solicitors are buying names of accident victims for £1 each from a company in an effort to boost their personal injury work.

**ELECTRONIC** monitoring tagging of offenders could be used for ex-prisoners on parole, the Home Office said. It was longer a question of whether tagging should be used but how.

**THE Conservative party** is reviving its media monitoring unit to expose bias TV programmes and letting prejudice at the BBC and ITV.

**YACHTSWOMAN** Lisa Clayton handed in thousands of written logs detailing weather reports and repairs. She hopes they will clinch her claim to become the first woman to sail single-handed and unassisted around the world.

**EIGHTEEN** senior NHS officials who received illegal compensation because they lost money on the sale of their homes when they transferred jobs may have to repay £579,000 and face disciplinary action.

**LAST** summer saw the highest number of anti-Semitic incidents — including the desecration of seven cemeteries — also records began in 1982, according to the annual report of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

**PROFESSOR** Angus Wallace of Nottingham University Medical School, awarded £30,000 after performing minor surgery to save a woman's life, said he would pass on the money for research at the school.

**THE TREASURY** is preparing for cuts of up to £200 million in next year's £1.8 billion roads programme, according to a confidential document drawn up for the Transport Secretary, Sir George Young. The proposed cuts could mean the number of new roads will be reduced from eight to just two major schemes.

**NORPLANT**, a contraceptive implant which has left some women with scarred arms needing plastic surgery after extraction attempts, has highlighted a gap in Britain's drug licensing laws. Hoechst Roussel, which markets the drug, warns gynaecologists not to attempt to extract the implant without training but has no power to insist that only Norplant-trained doctors insert or remove it.

## Expert raises rail safety fears

Rebecca Smithers

**RAILTRACK** made a robust defence of its safety procedures this week after the publication of a leaked internal memorandum in which one of its own managers warned of "another Clapham" rail disaster unless its standards were improved.

The contents of the memo, which lists a number of unprioritised near-misses this year — including two in the South-east and others in Scotland — have confirmed fears about the implications of breaking up the railway industry for privatisation, and fuelled demands for the self-off to be halted.

The first leaked Railtrack memo was written by Jack Rose, manager of safety assessment at Railtrack's Major Projects Division, for its director Gil Howarth.

His bluntly written conclusions are given extra weight by the fact that he was in charge of the safety review of the London Underground after the King's Cross fire eight years ago.

Mr Rose warned Mr Howarth that Railtrack's safety procedures were so lax that "another Clapham" had twice been narrowly avoided.

Thirty-five people were killed when two trains collided outside Clapham Junction station in south-west London in December 1988.

"We cannot afford to be 'third time unlucky'," he admits about the incidents, which both took place in the Bow area of east London in March and June. "In either incident, if the train body had been of the older, wooden based construction, the events could have led to the ripping away of the side of the train with disastrous consequences," he says.

Mr Rose admits that it would take Railtrack 18 months to set up an effective safety management system, and urges it to take advice from safety experts from an organisation such as the UK Atomic Authority.

Among his other concerns are that Railtrack did not appear to know or understand how safe its staff were, and that the division had no way of assessing safety risk. Mr Howarth said the memo was written on June 22, a review of safety had since been undertaken and Railtrack was totally satisfied with procedures.

Trends over the last three years show that safety has improved on the railways, he said. "We are constantly improving and updating safety."

The main rail union, the RMT, said the document confirmed its "worst fears" and it would write to the Government demanding a review of safety procedures. Labour accused the Government of placing passengers at risk by putting privatisation before safety, and claimed a key plank of the sell-off programme had been "thrown into complete disarray".

"It will be at least 18 months before Railtrack will effectively manage safety but the company is due to be sold in only six months," said Labour's transport spokesman, Henry McLeish. "We cannot allow the Government to play political games with Railtrack."

But the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) said it had "no evidence of any deterioration in Railtrack's overall safety standards." A Department of Transport spokesman added: "Railtrack has... assured ministers that safety is paramount on the railway and that effective safety arrangements are fully in place. The railway safety regime was independently designed to be safe by the HSE, it has been independently approved as being safe and is regularly monitored to ensure that it continues to be safe."

## Euro Court rules against ill women

Clare Dyer

**TENS** of thousands of disabled or ill women pensioners had their hopes of higher invalidity benefit dashed last week when the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg held that rules linking the benefit to state pension ages did not breach European law.

In a judgment affecting at least 41,000 women, it held that rules cutting invalidity benefit for retired machinist Rose Graham at age 60 did not breach a European directive on equal treatment for men and women in social security matters.

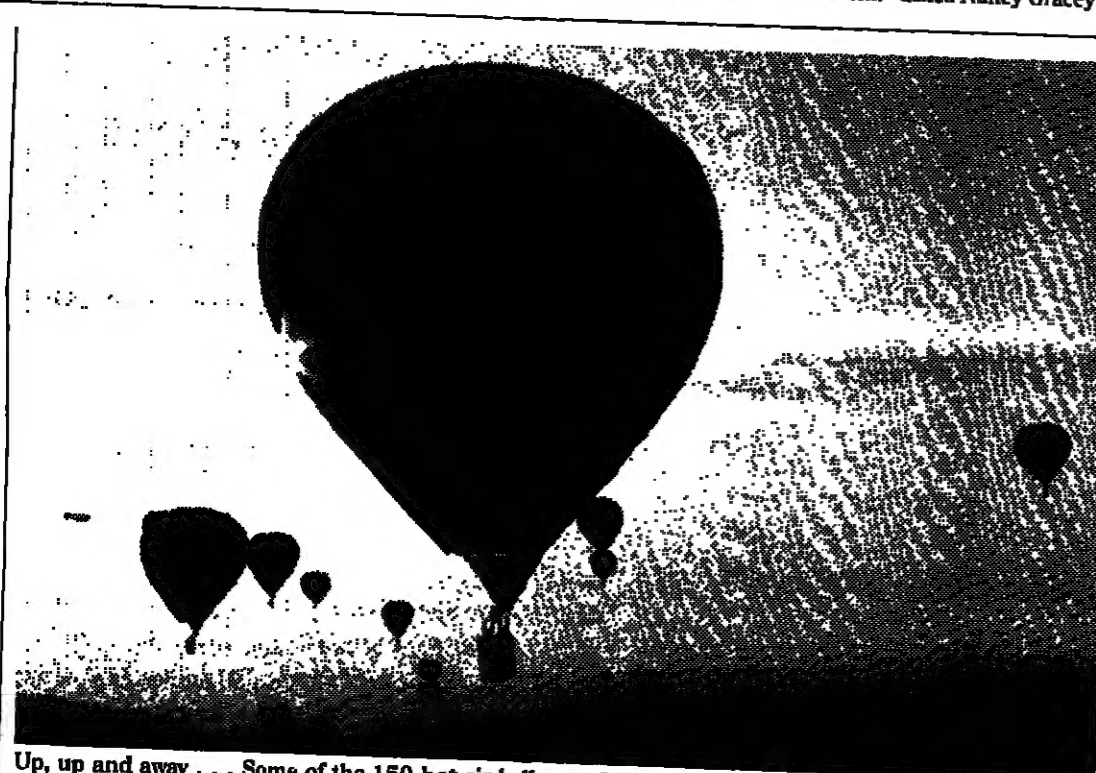
Mrs Graham, from Birkenhead, Merseyside, had argued that allowing men full benefit until age 65, but women only until age 60, was unlawful. The ruling, which will save the Government an estimated £600 million, was unexpected because the Advocate-General, a court adviser whose opinion is usually followed, had supported Mrs Graham's arguments.

Mrs Graham lost £35 a week from age 60 when, under the rules, her benefit was cut to the level of the state pension she had earned by her contributions. Her contribution record as a self-employed worker was inadequate for a full pension.

She appealed and in 1992 the full benefit was restored to her, backdated to age 60, after a social security commissioner decided the rule breached the directive. But the Government took the case to the Court of Appeal, which referred it to Luxembourg.

The Luxembourg court held that the Government was entitled to apply different ages for men and women because equalising them would "undermine the coherence between the retirement pension scheme and the invalidity benefit scheme".

Diana Britton, the Equal Opportunities Commission's deputy chairwoman, said the decision was bad news for many women "who, unlike men, will not be able to receive full invalidity benefit for an extra five years. Discrimination at any age is unfair; discrimination in older age when incomes are often lower is a greater injustice. The state pension ages should not be used to create more sex discrimination in the social security system."



Up, up and away... Some of the 150 hot air balloons that rose above the West Country last Friday at the start of the three-day Bristol International Balloon Fiesta

PHOTOGRAPH BY GARRY WEAVER

## Bottomley looks to digital revolution

Lisa Buckingham

**AT LEAST** 18 new television channels could come on air as a result of a switch to digital broadcasting which will be as "significant as the move from black and white TV to colour", Virginia Bottomley, the Heritage Secretary, said last week.

Mrs Bottomley, who was launching a White Paper on digital broadcasting, said that as well as the TV channels, more than 40 radio stations could be created.

Raising the curtain on what she described as a revolution, Mrs Bottomley said digital broadcasting

would transform people's viewing and could create thousands of jobs by keeping Britain at the forefront of broadcast developments.

Digital television and radio involves converting sound and pictures into computer language which can be transmitted in compressed form. Signals are received and decoded by a set-top black box.

It is estimated that decoder boxes could cost £300 to £500 each and wide-screen TV sets, including a universal decoder, £1,500.

The consultative paper from the Heritage Department offers safeguards for existing broadcasters, including the BBC, Channel 4 and the

ITV companies, which will be guaranteed access to digital frequencies. But if they want to expand beyond their existing channels they will have to bid competitively for extra capacity — a process which could cost the BBC, for example, £100 million to £150 million a year.

The satellite operator, BSkyB — which is 40 per cent owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation — predicted that terrestrial digital broadcasters faced problems introducing decoder boxes into most homes at an affordable price. But BSkyB claims it will be able to offer its own digital transmissions from next year.

farms are reported to be benefiting from the scheme, including Lord Inglewood, junior national heritage minister, who is set to receive £130,000 this year and Earl Ferrers, environment minister, who will get £140,000.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Agriculture said set-aside had worked as a measure to reduce surpluses. "The food mountains are now almost like molehills." It was a temporary measure which the Government wanted to see phased out.

Brussels to reduce food mountains — as a scandal. Under the scheme, farmers receive arable payments if they agree not to grow food on a percentage of their land.

Mr Strang accused the Government of putting the interests of farmers above those of taxpayers. "Why should the taxpayer be paying out such colossal sums to large farmers?" he asked. Six ministers who own large

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
August 20 1995

On parade... Trooper Mark Campbell is the first black soldier to join the sovereign's escort of the Household Cavalry. The 28-year-old former postal worker will make his first public appearance during the VJ Day celebrations this weekend. His success follows years of pressure — spearheaded by the Prince of Wales — to recruit black troopers to both the Household Cavalry and the five guards regiments

## Church denies gay man has right to be godfather

Owen Bowcott

**THE** case of a gay man denied permission to become godfather to his nephew has reopened deep divisions within the Church of England over its attitudes to homosexuality.

With Anglican clergy split on the issue, the Church admitted that, although it was general policy to accept gay men in permanent relationships, individual parishes could effectively enforce a ban.

Single, heterosexual men who "slept around" might also be rejected as godfathers, a Church of England official suggested, attempting to prove that homosexuals were not subjected to discrimination.

The latest conflict began this spring at St Peter's Church, Farnborough, in Hampshire. Simon Lawley, a 39-year-old restaurateur, was asked by his sister, Elizabeth Toms, to become godfather to her son. In conversation with the local curate, she volunteered the information that he was gay.

Both the curate, the Reverend Beryl Phillips, and her canon, the Reverend Alan Boddington, then ruled that they could not baptise her son at St Peter's with a gay godfather. "This is a serious issue as the practice of homosexuality, as opposed to homosexual orientation, is not condoned in scripture." The re-

fusal was based on biblical teaching. Canon Boddington accepted that a statement from the House of Bishops in 1991 had welcomed gay couples in permanent relationships into the Anglican Church. But he denied the document was "definitive".

A Church of England priest, officer said a godparent should be someone who can "give an example of godly living to the child" and help the child grow up in the faith of Christ and the Church.

The House of Bishops has ruled that the Church should welcome homosexuals involved in permanent relationships. The simple issue of sexuality should not be relevant to whether someone can become a godparent. It really depends on the person's lifestyle. "There were differences in the way the regulations were implemented, he said. "A vicar has no right to deny baptism, but he has some say in who the godparents might be."

Mr Lawley, who has written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, demanding that they clarify the Church's stance, has since become the child's godfather at a service in Lincolnshire.

He told the Sunday Times newspaper: "To have this blanket of bigotry and homophobia thrown over me was incredible. It was worse than anything I'd experienced outside the Church."

## Firms object to maternity bill

Chris Barrie

**EMPLOYERS** united on Monday to condemn government plans to make businesses responsible for statutory maternity pay, warning that the move would lead to discrimination against women and higher labour costs.

Richard Brown, deputy director-general of the British Chambers of Commerce, said the plans to lop £500 million off public spending by transferring the burden to employers would provide another reason for firms to avoid employing women. He added: "It would be yet another instance of a law acting against providing opportunities for women."

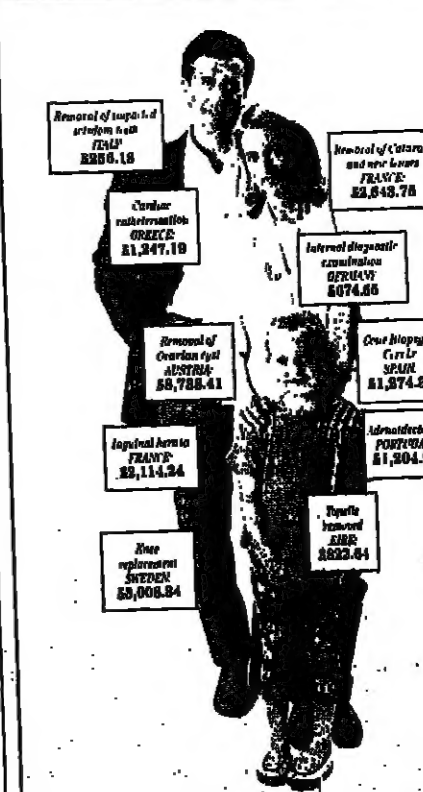
The Confederation of British Industry and the Institute of Directors also rejected the scheme.

Peter Lilley, the Social Security Secretary, is reported to be considering the move as part of a plan to cut spending.

The bill for maternity pay has ballooned in the last five years because of improvements required under European law. Women working full time are now eligible for full maternity pay without having to be employed for two years.

The British Chamber of Commerce suggested that an employer's contribution by laying down that no company should pay more than a pre-set proportion of its payroll in maternity pay. That way firms facing a potentially high bill — such as supermarkets where 5 per cent of the workforce could be away at any one time — would be protected.

## INDIVIDUAL HEALTHCARE COVER FROM AS LITTLE AS £8\* A WEEK



Take a look at the average medical costs\* for these common ailments and then tell us you can't afford PPP accident insurance.

£500,000 Annual Cover  
for as little as £8\* a week

That's right, for as little as £8\* a week we'll cover you for medical costs up to an annual maximum of £500,000.

And provide the peace of mind that is essential if you are living, working or travelling in a country where medical facilities may be inadequate and private medical treatment prohibitively expensive.

PPP is one of the UK's leading medical insurance companies with over 2 million members.

PPP's International Division specialises in quality medical insurance for people working or living overseas. Its International Health Plan offers a wide range of options for different needs and budgets, with annual cover up to £1,000,000.



PPP  
International Healthcare

For immediate cover call anytime day or night

**44 (0) 1892 503311**

and ask for extension 6388

Send to: PPP International, PPP House, 20 Upperton Road, Eastbourne, East Sussex, BN21 1LH, England.  
Or fax to 44 (0) 1323 432208.

ADDRESS:

COUNTRY:

TEL NO:

FAX NO:

CURRENT SCHEME:

RENEWAL DATE:

\*Based on Standard Option, Area 3: Europe including UK, Age 30-39 years.  
\*Source: This information is based on the average costs paid by PPP under the International Health Plan between 1/1/94 and 31/12/94 for particular European countries. The value of the claims have been converted into pounds sterling for the purpose of consistency.  
The exchange rates used were those prevailing at the time the claims were paid.  
\*\*\*This rate is not applicable to Dubai.

YES I would like to know more about the PPP International Health Plan. Please send me further details. ☐

TITLE: Mr ☐ Mrs ☐ Miss ☐ Ms ☐ Dr ☐ Other ☐

SURNAME:

FORENAME:

DATE OF BIRTH:

PPP International Health Plan is specifically designed for expatriates.  
\*Note: expatriates only apply subject to any applicable local laws or exchange control regulations.



## Kashmir cries out for attention

THE PLIGHT of the hostages in Kashmir is agonising, yet it is based on a logic which cannot be ignored. Kashmir is now the most intractable of all international problems and the one which foreign governments are most anxious to avoid. So what does it require, the Al-Farzan militants will have asked, to compel international opinion to sit up and take notice? Even the deadline for their last ultimatum passed with barely a mention in the foreign press. The answer was the body of a captive who had been decapitated. Guerrillas who have fought in Afghanistan know how to make a point.

India has been accused of being "a country without a strategy" in Kashmir. Perhaps so, but who else claims to possess one? Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's plan to hold elections was regarded even in New Delhi as irrelevant before it was derailed by the destruction of the Char-e-Sharif shrine. Yet the charge may be levelled equally at Pakistan, whose aid to the insurgents only weakens their credibility while compelling India to tighten its grip. The root of the Kashmir crisis lies in this dual nature — as an internal question between Kashmir and the Indian government and as a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan, which has already led to two wars. Labour's shadow foreign secretary tried to say this recently, by referring both to Kashmir as under India's control and to the 1972 Simla agreement where the two countries agreed to negotiate on a bilateral basis. His wording may have been inept but any pronouncement on Kashmir is likely to be clobbered.

No solution to the Kashmir crisis is possible unless Pakistan agrees to stop supplying weapons and fighters, yet no independent observer believes that this would bring an end. Most of the population has been alienated to the point of despair by the repression from which thousands suffer and die. The outside world has not helped either. The US and Europeans have toned down complaints about human rights abuses in Kashmir and shelved it as a diplomatic issue. The end of the cold war reduced their concern: the opening of the Indian market became more enticing.

Yet a new argument, also stemming from the end of the cold war, points in a more hopeful direction. This would group Kashmir with the other "insoluble" problems of the late 20th century which may — just may — prove capable after all of solution. However tentative the progress now being made by Israel and the PLO (or closer to home in Northern Ireland), it demonstrates that there need be no no-go areas. Eliminating the chief source of tension between the two main powers of the subcontinent would liberate huge resources diverted for too long into competitive military expenditure.

This is delicate terrain where everyone should tread carefully but a beginning has to be made. Today's hostage crisis is also a metaphor for the wider crisis in which the people of Kashmir are themselves hostages to past decades of indifference and intolerance. That is the trap which somehow has to be sprung.

## Unequal opportunities

SOCIAL Focus on Women published by the Central Statistical Office is a cornucopia of information on one of the most absorbing and persistent debates of the late 20th century: the role of women. The past 30 years have witnessed huge changes in women's lives. We ceaselessly analyse and reflect on the impact these changes are having on the relationship between the sexes and on the bearing and raising of children. Now Britain has a reference work which highlights how the pace of change has outstripped the structures which order work, family life and childcare. The result? Ask any working mother: she's knackered.

The overarching theme of this document is the continuing advance of women in the workplace: the proportion of women who work has risen from 44 per cent in 1971 to 53 per cent in 1994. It is set to rise further. But this is not a genuine advance for women unless they get a fair deal in the workplace; they do not. They tend to work in low-status, low-paid jobs; they earn less than men on average, and even earn less for the same work. Women are still under-represented in the ranks of

power, policy and decision-making, the authors conclude.

How can this have happened after nearly two decades of Equal Opportunities? There are three facts in Social Focus which policy-makers and employers would do well on which to ponder.

First, most women have children. Second, the vast majority of mothers want to work part-time (a staggering 92 per cent): their career development is prejudiced by a work culture where only the hours put in at your desk is seen as evidence of commitment. Women who take career breaks for children never catch up with their male counterparts. Third, the tiny number who have been able to arrange flexible working patterns is testimony to the workplace's rigidity.

These kind of flexible work arrangements are crucial if women are to continue to do what they have always wanted to do: invest hugely in human relationships. They should not be penalised for making the well-being of their children and consideration for their relationships with partners, friends and extended families a priority.

Working part-time should not be a reason to be relegated to the slow lane or to be exploited as cheap and docile. Ending discrimination in the workplace is not only a question of rights. It is about mobilising skills in which women are particularly adept, such as human relations and communication: it is a matter of sound economic sense. It is also about the well-being of society. The double burden of competing at work while maintaining women's traditional priority of human relationships is punishing.

Two further facts from Social Focus. The depressing one is that a fifth of women aged 16-64 had suffered some form of neurotic disorder in the week before they were interviewed. The four most common symptoms were fatigue, sleep problems, irritability and worry. The double burden takes its toll. The hopeful one, however, is that men now share the weekly shopping and are doing more of the washing-up. Will changes in men's role in the home help the revolution needed in the workplace?

## Bubbles in the Cyber Sea

EVERYONE has heard of the South Sea Bubble even if few can remember exactly what it was all about. The South Sea company was founded in 1711 with the object of trading with South America (mainly in slaves). In exchange for taking over the government's floating debts (£9.5 million then) it was given a monopoly of trade to the South Seas. In practice this turned out to be only one ship a year, but that didn't prevent an orgy of speculation developing not only in the South Sea company but in dozens of other dodgy ventures, including one "for carrying out an undertaking of great advantage, but no one to know what it is". Shares of the South Sea company rose from 128.5 in January 1720, to 330 in March, 550 in May and 890 in June. It broke through 1,000 in July and August, but had slumped back to 124 by December.

Turn now to the flotation of the shares of the US group, Netscape. The company's main product is software in the form of a small computer disk which it gives away. The software provides easy access to the Internet, the world-wide network of computers, so punters can "browse" through the planned to price the corporation's shares at around \$14 a share, but decided instead to pitch per share almost immediately. Since there are 38.1 million shares in existence, it valued the corporation at over \$2.7 billion. Not bad for a company which made a loss of \$4.3 million in the first half of the year. Of course, punters are piling into Netscape because of a belief that it could become as successful as Microsoft. Yet Microsoft's much vaunted Windows 95 operating system will contain Microsoft's own Internet "browser", which will be in competition with Netscape's.

It is common to value a company's shares on the stock market as a multiple of its post-tax profits. If a company is purchased for 10 times its earnings it would take 10 years to recoup the outlay. With Netscape it would take infinity since it is not making profits. Whether the company's future Internet-based products will eventually justify its high value remains to be seen. Its price has fallen already since its heady debut. Meanwhile, Netscape may become a metaphor for the times, measuring the triumph of expectation over reality.

## Krajina victory opens the floodgates of war

Martin Woollacott

CROATS have a favourite story about the reconquest of Krajina. It tells how, when their forces entered the town of Obrovac a fortnight ago, they found just one 65-year-old man out of a population of 6,000. He was a Croat, married to a Serb. She had gone off with the other Serbs.

The story dramatises three things Croats believe in — the completeness of their victory in the Krajina, the wilful nature of the Serb evacuation, and, in the metaphor of the abandoned marriage, the impossibility of living together again. Some tell the story in sadness, some in jubilation.

Either way, it does embody the key aspects of the new situation. The Serbs, from having seemed to be the strongest actors, have become the likely losers in the conflict. They are dragging back into a reduced redoubt the far-flung Serb population they allegedly set out to defend four years ago. Croatia is looking for more victories and, perhaps, for more displacements of Serb population which, as in the Krajina, it can trust the Serbs to organise themselves. Their instinct to push Slobodan Milosevic to the wall is the right one, for them and for us. Their complicity in an ethnic upheaval partly set off by their enemies, on the other hand, does violence to their own complex history, and distorts to an extent degrades their national struggle.

The best way to characterise the radical change that has taken place in recent weeks is to say that the fall of Milosevic is now a clear, if still distant, possibility. That of both Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic can easily be envisaged. If any of them survive, it will be as shrunken and vulnerable figures. They face the prospect of further defeats in war or, at best, of negotiations not on their terms, and of settlements that would be so unpopular with their people as to bring them down.

And their past is catching up with them, as the Srebrenica allegations against the Bosnian Serb army and Mladic show. If these are proved to be true, they could undermine the Serb's position as effectively as the military defeat they have just suffered. The combination of the two is potentially lethal, in that the international community will be flooded with outrage at just the moment when it has become obvious that the Serbs are less formidable than was thought. Negotiating with men involved in such a crime could, quite rightly, become impossible.

Far from opening up the possibilities of a negotiated settlement with the Serb regimes, the Krajina victory has in fact done the reverse. It makes active warfare in Bosnia much more likely, as the Croats and Muslims press their advantage and Mladic tries to foil them and rescue his reputation. Why should Franjo Tudjman follow up his victory by entering into talks, by implication, would carry the possibility of him making concessions? Milosevic, meanwhile, would find it politically dangerous to enter into negotiations with a triumphant Croatia, even if the latter were ready to offer them. Serbia and Croatia may agree on one thing — that now is not the mo-

ment to have a battle for Eastern Slavonia, the remaining Serb territory in Croatia — but to agree on nothing else. A fight, Bosnia to force further Serb retreat is therefore on the cards.

The Russian diplomatic intervention and the US mission to Europe led by Anthony Lake, are both pieces of theatre tending to conceal that everything that has happened points to war and not to a settlement. The larger truth is that America's policy in the Balkans has presided over the policy of Britain and France. The latter was based on the idea of the strength of Serbia and its position in Bosnia and Croatia had to be respected and that a settlement must be based on consolidating Milosevic in spite of his responsibility for the horrors of ethnic warfare, he was the keystone of the arch of peace.

The Americans, by contrast, helped create the Croatian-Serb alliance with German help to preside over, if they did not materially assist, a gradual improvement: the military capacity of Croats and Bosnians. The secondary issue was the arms embargo bedevilled European and US relations, but the difference was that the Americans saw a solution in the Croats, while British and French saw it in the Serbs. US policy was not particularly coherent or forceful, and Washington may now be surprised by its own success, but the results on the battlefield have transformed the military and diplomatic landscape.

THE diplomatic concepts of the past are going to be discarded, in fact if not in name. The division of territory, 49 per cent for the Serbs and 51 per cent for the federation, devised long ago by the five-nation Contact Group, along with an actual map of proposed partition, was already obsolete. Now it is likely to be overtaken by fighting on the ground as the Croats and Muslims move to take more territory in western and central Bosnia.

The idea that Serbia's recognition of Bosnia, still being pursued by the chief negotiator, Carl Bildt, is an important step to a settlement falls in consequence. We do not need Milosevic to rein in the Bosnian Serbs; they can be reined in by other means. Equally, the idea that the way to solve the problem of Eastern Slavonia is by an internationally endorsed autonomy plan becomes very doubtful. It remains desirable, but the reality is that neither Tudjman nor Milosevic could now afford the concessions that each would have to make. The likely consequence is that Eastern Slavonia will be settled by force some time in the future.

All these diplomatic instruments were responses to what was perceived as the enduring reality of Serb power. While it would be foolish to underestimate Serb military resources and resolve, and wrong to cease to search for a moment when a stable settlement is possible, an effective diplomacy must now be shaped around Serb weakness. A settlement may well follow, or could precipitate, the fall of the Serb regimes.

It was assumed that the Serbs could not be defeated and therefore must be accommodated. Now we know this is not true the road to victory, not over the Serbian people, but over their foolish and dangerous masters, is at last open.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
August 20 1995

## Ready to fight to the last drop

Next century's wars will be fought over water, warns the World Bank. John Vidal reports

THE WORLD BANK has seen the future, and it's very, very dry. This month, as the US counted the rising death toll of a searing summer, as Spanish regions clashed over what to do in a few weeks' time when their drinking water may run out after a two-year drought, and as tinder-dry Britain found it was leading a third of its supplies, the world's most cautious economists helpfully chimed in. "Earth faces H<sub>2</sub>O crisis," the Bank yelled.

"The wars of the next century will be over water" — not oil or politics — says Ismail Serageldin, the Bank's vice-president, echoing UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 1988 assertion that the next war in the Middle East would be over the Nile. Within hours, Israeli and Palestinian diplomats had reached more deadlock on water in their peace talks.

Unlike Boutros-Ghali, Serageldin wields facts: 80 countries, he says, now have shortages that threaten health and economies; 40 per cent of the world (more than 2 billion people) has no access to clean water or sanitation. And as industrial, agricultural and individual demands everywhere escalate (see diagram), the situation is deteriorating.

Serageldin's analysis is devastating but his conclusions will be hotly debated. When set alongside new statistics from the FAO (the UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation) and a rain of recent independent scientific and academic hydro-political studies, the size of the global water bomb emerges.

Worldwide demand for water is doubling every 21 years, more in some regions. Supply can't keep pace with demand growth as populations soar and cities explode, the Bank says. Cape Verde and Barbados are running out now. The situation in the Middle East and North Africa is "precarious". Northern China, western and southern India, parts of Pakistan, South America and much of Mexico all face water scarcity.

Much of sub-Saharan Africa is in semi-permanent crisis. Fifty Chinese cities face acute shortages as the water table drops one or two metres a year. Meanwhile, many countries are accelerating the process of desertification and water quality is falling rapidly in the developing world as pollution and salinity, caused by industrial farming and over-extraction, rises.

"With water there is survival, without it there is no food nor sustenance of any sort," says Dr Norman Myers, a fellow of Green College, Oxford, and consultant to the Bank. His recent book, *Ultimate Security*, is harrowing. It says Egypt's water supply per person is expected to shrink by 30 per cent, Nigeria's by 40 per cent, Kenya's by 50 per cent in under a decade. By 2025, Serageldin adds, the amount of water available to each person in the Middle East and North Africa will have dropped by 80 per cent in a single lifetime.

Myers identifies an ecological "risk spiral". As population grows (it's expected to double worldwide in 40 years), so drier areas are being farmed. This justifies the loss of forests and other water-conserving vegetation but the result is less rainfall and a "desiccatory effect" —

multiple factors are compounding each other's impacts.

Parts of Africa could shortly experience a "drying out", and as demand soars, so supplies may decline faster than ever. Result everywhere: communities less able to feed themselves, political tension and an escalation towards conflict. "It's no longer an economic struggle, but a fight for survival," said one regional politician grappling with the Spanish water crisis.

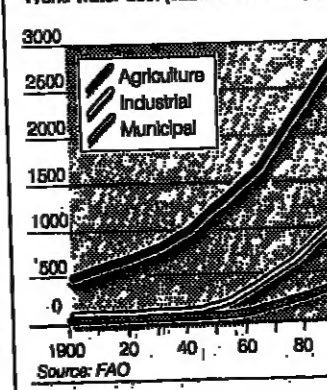
Peter Gleick, of the Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment and Security in California, agrees with Serageldin. He sees water becoming increasingly important in inter-state politics and the "probability" of violent conflict over Earth's fundamental resource. Water, he says, is fast evolving into an issue of high geopolitical strategy. "It's dynamite."

Because water is no respecter of national boundaries, the potential for insecurity is great. Botswana, Bulgaria, Cambodia, the Congo, Gambia, the Sudan, Syria and many other countries receive 75 per cent or more of their fresh water from the river flows of (often hostile) upstream neighbours. Some 40 per cent of the world's basins whose water is competed for by more than one nation. Great rivers like the Nile, Niger, Tigris, Mekong, Brahmaputra and Indus flow through many countries, all of whom want to extract as much water as possible. All have been the subject of recent international disputes. Tensions appear "especially likely" in parts of southern and central Asia and the Middle East, where water conflicts go back more than 5,000 years.

The problem, the FAO says, is not "climatic drought". Rainfall stays roughly the same, even if the last decade has seen eight of the hottest years on record. Rainfall varies widely from year to year but good and bad years tend to be

### Supply and demand

World water use: (cubic kilometres p.a.)



grouped. Today's problem is self-induced. What we are seeing, the FAO says, is mostly "agricultural drought" — where water supply is insufficient to cover crop or livestock needs.

It comes in two forms. Growing populations need more food, which demands more water to grow it. But less remarked (and ignored in the Bank's analysis) is the fact that new, high-yielding crop varieties — subsidised and pushed vigorously by governments, industry and world bodies as the most efficient way to feed people — demand much more water.

Moreover, agricultural drought is being worsened as tensions grow everywhere between the three sectors of society that traditionally compete for water — farming, in-



Splashing out... A Sri Lankan girl washes from a full bucket, but how long will this plentiful supply last? PHOTOGRAPH: MARK EDWARDS

## The dry and the mighty

Rivers where the international tensions flow... NILE: Flows through 10 volatile countries; provides 97 per cent of Egypt's water. Water developments upstream in Sudan, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania or Zaire would add to existing tensions. Only Sudan and Egypt have signed a water-use treaty.

INDUS: Pakistan is greatly dependent on the river but two of its tributaries rise in India — which wants water for the Punjab grain basket. BRAHMAPUTRA: Vast amounts of silt are flowing down the river following deforestation in Bangladesh and Nepal. An island of Wight-size is building up in the Bay of Bengal and will shortly surface.

JORDAN: River basin shared by Jordan, Syria, Israel and Lebanon. Forty per cent of Israel's water originates in territories occupied after the 1967 war. Water use is currently part of the deadlocked peace talks. TIGRIS/EUPHRATES: Turkey controls the headwaters of both rivers via 33 dams in the giant GAP project. Downstream countries like Syria and Iraq depend completely on the Euphrates. Syria has ambitious irrigation plans which would further hit Iraq.

MEKONG: Laos, Vietnam and Thailand are rapidly industrialising and disputing how to manage the river. Thailand wants dams built in Laos that would change agriculture patterns in other countries.

GANGES: 300 million Indian farmers depend on the river but deforestation in Himalayan foothills is said to be disrupting the flow.

dustrial and individuals. The FAO and the Bank agree that, as wealth increases, agriculture is being denied water by emerging industrial and urban areas.

"Where's the food going to come from?" Gleick asks. "How can we possibly meet the needs of 10 billion people when we can barely meet the needs of 5 billion and are actually taking water away from agriculture?"

"Food production capacity is being lowered," Serageldin says. "Water scarcity, not shortage of land, will be the main future constraint of agriculture in developing countries."

The solutions are hotly debated. The Bank wants \$600 billion to be invested in sanitation and water schemes in the next decade, and says it will up its lending in this area to about 25 per cent of its loans. It makes economic sense: the price of not investing in health and sanitation is huge. Ten weeks of cholera caused by contaminated water in Peru recently cost about \$1 billion — three times the amount invested in the country's water supply in the whole of the 1980s.

Because it could not afford to clean up the pollution of its water supplies, Shanghai spent \$300 million recently moving its intake 25 miles upstream. Here British water companies say it will cost \$80 billion to meet EU water quality standards — the price of not investing in pollution prevention earlier.

"It's good to see the Bank taking water seriously," says Mark Robinson of WaterAid, the British charity which claims that 80 per cent of all deaths in the developing world are now water-related and warns that cities in the developing world are becoming mega-slums increasingly

prone to disease. "The implications for the IMF and the world community are great. Scarcely like the recent Indian plague outbreak will be repeated month after month unless we get to grips with water."

"But money is not enough — the approach is vital. Time and again the poorest are bypassed by inappropriate water and sanitation investments. The developing world is littered with failed water projects. Soon the majority will be living in little more than urban slums. Without safe water there can be no good health and without health you can't fight poverty. Everything starts with water."

HE IS supported by a Malay-Asian development academic who asks not to be named. "Unless the World Bank and governments really attack the roots of the crisis, start thinking in the long-term and work from the bottom-up, the problem will not be solved," he says.

He warns of another risk spiral: "The core thinking of the Bank and others is to push western efficiency, technology and modernisation — most of which have ignored social costs. Yet the poor have ended up poorer in cities, where they need more water than before and the pollution of water is greatest."

"Without clean water and good sanitation, urban poverty, slums and diseases have flourished and countries have slipped even further into the poverty trap. But countries are still told by the World Bank and western-trained economists to develop, at the expense of their traditional water-spare agriculture, foreign exchange-earning crops like flowers or lettuce — which need even more water." It's all underpinned by global free trade

and the Gatt — pushed by the Bank, he says. "Now everyone says 'develop tourism', which, per capita, is the most water-intensive of all industries!"

The figures are startling: according to the FAO, the average 15,000 cubic metres of water needed to irrigate one hectare of high-yielding modern rice is enough for 100 nomads and 450 cattle for three years, or 100 rural families for three years, or 100 urban families for two years. The same amount can supply 100 luxury hotel guests for just 55 days.

Meanwhile cities, Gleick says, can pay 10 times more for water as farmers. African safari hotels are paying to usurp wells that have traditionally watered whole tribes, and everywhere farming and industry is excused, paying for the pollution it causes. In city after city in the developing world the poor must rely on private water vendors, paying 10 times or more what those with government-provided tap water pay.

Most contentiously, the Bank wants to see water valued as an economic good. Ignoring all arguments about water being a human right, or cultural or religious factors that celebrate the sacredness of water, it says private enterprise and the privatisation of water supplies are the way to provide the most services at the lowest price for the poor. It will be as hotly debated as Britain's venture into privatising water.

"Privatisation misses the mark," WaterAid says. "The poor already pay very heavily for water. In effect it's privatised already, but going down the route of private facilities may not be appropriate. There are other ways. Otherwise water has a funny way of ending up only in the rich man's bucket these days."



## Cash flows in as the ideas run out

Using funds to finance buy-backs is fashionable in business but it's bad for investment, argues Roger Cowe

**B**ARCLAYS BANK upset investors last week when it spent £180 million. Not because this was the latest takeover, executive bonus scheme or grand expansion. The bank spent the money buying shares from its shareholders, and those shareholders were upset because the scale of the buy-back was too small.

But what is the capitalist world coming to when capitalists don't want capital, and shareholders want to trade in their shares for cash? Buy-backs are the theme of the 1990s. This financial fashion has been imported from the US, where IBM, Philip Morris, PepsiCo and Merck have all spent billions reducing the number of shares in issue.

It is simply another ruse to boost share prices. But it is important because of what it says about the state of British business, and the ability of large companies to do more than satisfy shareholders' needs.

The message from companies buying back shares is that they cannot find projects to invest the money in — not just in Britain, but anywhere in the world, since most are international if not multinational; and not just this year, but for the foreseeable future. And why do they have so much cash? They are making too much profit.

If markets worked properly, this would not happen. Only shrinking companies would have too much cash. In other cases, efficient markets would ensure that companies could not consistently make more profits than were needed to sustain their businesses. Companies which refused to invest would find others entering their markets and pursuing those projects seen as profitable. And companies making super-profits would find competition eating away at their business, reducing returns to normal.

This has not happened because of the de facto cartelisation of business. There is no shortage of competition for Barclays in the banking market. UK banks also face international competition. But if excessive return targets are pursued throughout the industry, the result will be excess profits and underinvestment in an industry-wide basis. In the 1980s, there was an unspoken agreement among supermarkets not to compete too hard on price. As a result, prices crept up above what even Sainsbury, Tesco and the rest would now regard as reasonable.

In the end, economic theory won out. Super-profits attracted new entrants to the market — German discount operator Aldi and Danish group Netto launched supermarket chains. But there is no serious sign of that happening in most sectors. Economy-wide figures from the Bank of England's latest Quarterly Bulletin show profitability at a high which has been exceeded since the early 1970s only briefly in the late 1980s boom. Business investment, on the other hand, is lagging way behind the pattern of previous economic recoveries, although the number of industrialists reporting

insufficient capacity is also at a 1988 level. The result of this combination is also clearly seen in Bank of England charts: companies have stacks of cash. And that is despite the level of dividend payments being at levels unprecedented before the 1990s.

Shareholders — the insurance companies and pension funds — take the view that if a company has more cash than it knows what to do with, they would rather have the cash themselves. That is hardly surprising given the ability of many companies, Barclays and Boots among them, to make appalling acquisitions or fritter away their funds on doomed ventures.

But institutions do not want to hang on to the cash. They want to invest it in other companies, usually in the same sector and certainly in the FTSE 100 group of leading companies. That would become problematic if buy-backs became more widespread, and insurance companies found themselves trying to invest in a group of companies that did not want to sell their shares.

One answer would be for the institutions to invest in other companies — smaller firms, private businesses, new ventures — prepared to accept less inflated returns. But, of course, big institutions prefer to invest in big companies, and if they start thinking about venture capital, the high returns they demand act as a deterrent. The stock market may not be worried about being locked into a spiral of ever-higher returns squeezing out investment, but it is a worrying trend, because it suggests Britain's already poor investment record cannot improve as a result of a systemic fault in Britain's financial markets rather than anything that individual companies or investors can change.

**P**UBLICLY quoted companies are locked into a system in which the stock market demands steadily rising earnings per share. Companies which reduce the number of their shares try to achieve this aim by dividing their existing earnings among fewer shares. Instead of the traditional route of increasing their earnings. The more profitable a company, the more difficult it is to raise the level of returns. Hence companies' insistence that they must achieve 20 per cent returns on investments, even at a time of low inflation when such a figure would seem outrageously generous to most private investors.

In the past, much earnings growth has been achieved by shuffling assets. In the 1960s and 1970s, conglomerates ate up any spare cash, as companies used their money, as well as shares, to buy up others. This process found a home for the cash and satisfied the need for growth. In the 1970s, any excess cash was also eaten up by inflation, which is another way of saying that large profits were often merely accounting numbers.

Beginning in the mid-1970s and continuing for a decade or more, the new conglomerates, with Hanson and BTR the outstanding examples, went about the business of breaking up their predecessors, such as Imperial Group and Thomas Tilling. In cases such as BAT Industries, the break-up was semi-voluntary, as a defence against just such a bid. By

the end of the 1980s, however, it had become apparent that the supposed gains from this process were often just as illusory as inflation-biased profits.

More seriously, the increases in earnings per share from this break-up, reshuffling process were mere accounting gains. They were the arithmetical result of buying companies with highly-priced shares, plus the benefits of being able to ignore huge takeover costs when computing post-takeover profits. Thus the stock market ratings of companies such as Hanson have never returned to their 1980s highs, and investors now frown on the kind of takeover deals which were commonplace 10 years ago.

With the opportunity to spend on takeovers constrained, companies now face the far more difficult task of improving their business by investing in organic, rather than acquired, growth. But that is much less exciting, much less visible, and much more long-term. And it requires real cash.

In a growing number of cases, the response instead is to improve

results merely by chopping away the lowest return businesses, or by giving the cash back to shareholders — in the form of higher dividends, if not special share purchase schemes. It is an abdication of business responsibility, but it is a position from which escape seems impossible. Alternative uses of the funds, even if investment is ruled out, would be to hand out money to other stakeholders, which would cut the cash piles by reducing profits. Wages could be raised — wages and salaries as a share of gross domestic product are at a 30-year low, with Barclays's own stockbroking arm, BZW, commenting recently, "While the employment share (of GDP) has been falling, we have been seeing a corresponding rise in the share of national income going to companies through higher profits." Higher prices could be negotiated with suppliers, lower ones offered to customers.

But it is clear that no quoted company could conceivably adopt such a strategy, when increasing "shareholder value" is currently the only acceptable business objective.

### In Brief

**M**ICHAEL OVITZ, the super agent regarded as the most powerful man in Hollywood, is to become president of the Walt Disney empire, only weeks after he rejected a \$250 million offer to head MCA-Universal. He will be No 2 to the Disney chairman, Michael Eisner.

**C**OMPUTER software market leader Microsoft is reported to be in talks with Turner Broadcasting about a \$2 billion stake in the US television company.

**T**HREE leading UK banks unveiled healthy half-year pre-tax profits: Barclays boosted a record £1.125 billion while Midland posted a figure of £527 million and Standard Chartered increased 35 per cent over the same period to £319 million.

**T**HE FOOD, cosmetics and detergent giant, Unilever, has warned that sluggish consumer demand in Europe would hold back profit growth in the second half of the year, despite the hot weather which will boost its huge ice-cream business.

**C**ORDIANT, the former Saatchi & Saatchi group which changed its name earlier this year after the departure of the founding brothers, has reported a loss of almost £30 million for the first half of the year.

**E**UROTUNNEL is expected to run out of money within the next two months after the disclosure that revenues this year have been much less than expected.

**A**BOUT 1,600 Lloyd's of London investors who sued their members' agents over millions of pounds of losses suffered in the insurance market have learned they may receive up to £125 million more in damages than they had expected.

**S**HARES of GKN, the defence engineering giant which last year snapped up Westland Helicopters, leapt 61p to 783p on news that the group had halved half-year pre-tax profits by two-thirds to a record £163 million.

### FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting rates August 7	Starting rates August 14
Australia	2.1955-2.1923	2.1240-2.1275
Austria	15.83-15.85	15.83-15.87
Canada	48.28-48.34	48.40-48.50
Denmark	2.1728-2.1748	2.1427-2.1457
France	6.72-6.73	6.75-6.76
Germany	7.76-7.77	7.76-7.78
Hong Kong	12.40-12.41	12.17-12.18
India	0.9749-0.9757	0.9749-0.9751
Italy	2.528-2.531	2.528-2.529
Japan	148.95-149.91	147.16-147.47
Netherlands	2.5212-2.5224	2.5278-2.5310
New Zealand	2.521-2.524	2.574-2.577
Norway	9.92-9.93	9.93-9.94
Portugal	233.64-233.95	234.14-234.76
Spain	161.59-162.64	162.84-163.35
Sweden	11.38-11.39	11.31-11.33
Switzerland	1.8625-1.8649	1.8778-1.8807
USA	1.5023-1.5038	1.5730-1.5747
ECU	1.2033-1.2100	1.2095-1.2104

FTSE 100 share index down 40.1 at 8441.4, FTSE 250 index down 21.1 at 3048.7, gold down 95.75 at 898.00.

## Mururoa prepares for post-test era

Jacques Lanard in Papeete

**T**HE POLICY of loftily dismissing queries about the future of Mururoa and Fangataua is over, the French high commissioner in Polynesia, Paul Roncière, has said. After 30 years of guarding the "big secret" (in the Mangarevan dialect *moro* means "secret" or "fishing net" and *roa* means "big"), it is all going to be out in the open from now on.

And this is not merely because France has to give explanations about its round of nuclear tests in order to try to head off the international community's wrath. It is also because military activities that have been between 2,000 and 3,000 people stationed on the atolls since 1966, are due to be wound down. The time has finally come to convert the atolls — probably Mururoa more than Fangataua, which is less hospitable — to other uses.

When the Polynesian territorial assembly ceded all rights to the two atolls in 1964, it was agreed that France would return them — without payment — to the territory once the nuclear test programme had ended. Most of the local representatives are planning to hold France to its commitment.

But the question is, what are they going to do with the atolls where military activity over the years has

created artificial wealth? The \$436 million that the French army and the Atomic Energy Authority spend there amounts roughly to one-eighth of Polynesia's GDP and a third of France's annual expenditure in the whole of the territory.

So what is to be done? In the first place, it would be out of the question to remove the specialists who keep track of the residual radioactivity. A report on the state of the sites, compiled on the basis of some 6,000 samples, is sent to the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna every year.

Secondly, an inventory will have to be drawn up of the substitute activities that could be conducted at

Mururoa and at Hao, which has long been the rear base of the military operations. They are already equipped with power stations, desalination plants and landing strips long enough to allow Concorde or even the American space shuttle to land.

Some people suggest building an international oceanographic laboratory, or a space centre. Others dream of building a hotel complex. Still others want the atolls to be used to lessen the territory's dependence on food imports.

Meanwhile, the French army has decided to develop its idea of a military service adapted to local conditions, as in French Guiana, Réunion and New Caledonia. "With

families broken up as they are in Polynesia, young people who drop out of school too soon either bum around or go windsurfing," says Rear Admiral Philippe Euverte, the commander of the armed forces at the sites.

Several hundred young Polynesian draftees will be given training in growing subsistence crops, market gardening, horticulture, stock farming, fish conservation, building and public works, and mechanics.

"By giving them professional training, we hope to keep the young men on the islands rather than see them rush off to Tahiti where they swell the ranks of the unemployed," the admiral said.

(August 11)

## Czechs row over communists

Plans to try senior officials on charges of high treason are provoking dissent. Martin Plichta reports from Prague

**W**ITH the Czech Republic getting ready to commemorate the 27th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's invasion by Warsaw Pact troops on August 21, the Prague police and the public prosecutor are in open disagreement over plans to prosecute 12 people, five of them former communist officials, for high treason.

More than five years after the Berlin Wall was torn down, officials at the bureau investigating communist crimes (UDV) believe they have enough damning evidence to put the officials on trial. But the public prosecutor, Libor Grygarek, has discovered technical flaws in the charges filed at the end of July. If the proceedings go ahead, it will be the first important trial of members of the former regime implicated in crushing the 1968 Prague Spring.

The UDV, set up in January, expects to prosecute about 20 people on charges of "collaborating with foreign powers" and various other crimes. The Soviet intervention in 1968 resulted in 80 deaths. The UDV deputy chief, Pavel Bret, says his service is interested, in particular, in prominent officials who "by their activities facilitated the Warsaw Pact armies' intervention".

Long thrashed out in debates and continually put off, the "settling of scores with the past", as it is called in Prague, is now under way. After the spring announcement that investigations had begun and charges filed against employees of the former communist secret police, the SIB, the UDV is now going after the communist nomenclature. Among the first to be charged were prominent representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's conservative wing, who never accepted Alexander Dubček's attempted liberalisation programme.

Jozef Lenart, prime minister from 1963 to May 1968, Milos Jakes, vice-minister of the interior until April 1968 and the last general secretary of the party before the "velvet revolution", and Karel Hofmann, minister of culture and information until April 1968, are likely to get from 15 years to life, if found guilty.

Jakes reacted indignantly to the charges. "Looking among the communists for those who betrayed socialist Czechoslovakia is knocking on the wrong door. None of us committed high treason," he declared, convinced that the conservatives did the right thing.

He also accused the UDV, headed by Václav Benda, a former Roman Catholic dissident and cellmate of President Václav Havel in the 1980s, of wanting to stage "an anti-communist crusade and a political trial".

The charges have broad backing among the government's rightwing parties, but are disapproved of by the left. They come weeks after the

government decided to extend the law banning former SIB employees and collaborators, communist officials and members of the people's militias (the Communist party's fighting arm) from holding public office in a number of sectors for a period of five years. The law is expected to be extended for another two years pending a general law that will permanently ban these persons from holding responsible office in government.

Criticised at the time by many former dissidents and international organisations, such as the Council of Europe, the Czech Republic's unique "cleansing" laws, which no other ex-socialist country has applied so systematically, have got out of hand in some cases. In 1991, for example, newspapers published lists of people alleged to have worked with the SIB, thereby unjustly branding them as "collaborators".

Coming at a time when action is already being taken against former communists, the new development is not a coincidence, as UDV officials claim. It is happening just as the reformed communists are again raising their heads above the parapet 10 months before parliamentary elections that are wide open. With the social democrats doing well in opinion polls and the party of the liberal prime minister, Václav Klaus — criticised on its right for being "too soft" on communists — flagging, Czechs are being offered a timely reminder of the spectre of communism.

(August 10)

## Le Monde

### Giène de l'obésité

VOUS AVEZ ESSAYÉ  
MATIN ET SOIR  
DU "GREENPEACE EFFERVESCENT" ?



"Have you tried taking Sparkling Greenpeace twice a day?" — "I'm allergic"

## France must have courage to back down

EDITORIAL

**T**HE PROGRAMME of nuclear tests at Mururoa that President Jacques Chirac has decided to go ahead with is becoming more difficult, not to say more uncertain, with every passing day. Ceremonies in Japan and elsewhere in the world marking the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have taken a turn distinctly hostile to France.

France today appears to be in the unenviable company of China as the only other country in the world that officially still retains the development of atomic weapons on its agenda. Other nuclear powers use laboratory tests for upgrading their weapons' effectiveness in meeting future threats. Chirac's decision places France not in the company of the big nations that consider the period of the "balance of terror" to be a thing of the past, but rather alongside small and middle-sized powers trying to prolong testing for their own advantage.

Although the president has declared he is determined to sign the new non-proliferation treaty in 1996, this resumption of nuclear tests is perceived as having a "proliferating" effect.

Above and beyond the basic controversy and the debate about the effect of the Mururoa explosions on the environment, the programme of tests has been put in serious doubt by the universal hostility to the decision.

The question is whether the test programme, even abbreviated or brought forward, can be carried out in full given the opposition from the region. Public opinion in the South Pacific countries is rising against them. Environmental activists and pacifists have decided to go to Mururoa. And every test, whether officially announced or detected by satellites, will provoke an outcry from governments in the region.

The language used in France by the supporters of the president's decision — the National Assembly speaker, Philippe Seguin, speaks of Australians "yapping" and the junior foreign trade minister, Christine Chaudet, equates the trade boycott with "terrorism" — betrays a frustration scarcely conducive to calm thinking.

The only thing of concern today should be how the president can extricate himself from the mess he has got into. He has been saying his decision is "irrevocable", but this has not silenced protests. Abandoning the programme would discredit Chirac less than stubbornly pursuing a course that is isolating France. The idea of deciding to "back down" is never an attractive one for a political leader, but there are genuinely courageous decisions that add to the stature of the person who makes them.

(August 8)

## China moves to fight Aids

Francis Deron in Beijing

**F**ROM time to time China — and this is one of its endearing features — takes the trouble to review certitudes it had itself helped to forge. The most recent example of this has to do with sex. That communist — at least on paper — China beats all records in prudishness, apart perhaps from North Korea, is a well-worn cliché. As is the idea that Hong Kong, that abominable product of western decadence, is debauchery itself, like Taiwan.

But the record needs to be set straight. Two mainland universities — in Shanghai and Henan — have taken up a crusade against Aids and plan to distribute condoms to their students as part of a (theoretical) lesson on the art of wearing sheaths. Some 80,000 students will benefit from the programme.

The idea is to protect the country's future élites. To hell with political orthodoxy: China already has nearly 2,000 officially registered cases of HIV infection, which can be multiplied by five to get the true figure, according to experts.

And what's happening in Hong Kong, so long regarded as a den of vice? The very opposite. Twice this summer, the colony's "obscenity" court has offered itself the luxury of banning the exhibition in public of sculptures that would be judged offensive anywhere else — mainland China included.

(August 10)



# Djibouti survives on French handouts

France's troops stationed in a former African colony are providing a lifeline for an ailing economy.  
**Jean-Pierre Tuquoi** reports from Djibouti

**T**HE French ambassador held the July 14 reception at his summer residence at Alar, far from the steamy heat of the capital. It was a mild evening. There was plenty of champagne, and the service — provided by young military conscripts — couldn't be faulted.

The ambassador made the usual polite speech, but it was the reply by the president of Djibouti's national assembly, who is also the country's second-ranking dignitary, that caused some embarrassment. He told a startled audience of officers that the French forces stationed in Djibouti should take charge of rebuilding some of his country's infrastructure destroyed during three years of civil war.

Since its independence in 1977, the Republic of Djibouti has been living — or surviving — on aid from France. The money that French troops spend here accounts for nearly half the country's gross domestic product and more than a third of the government's revenue. The largest contracts go to the French army, be it for putting up a building or modernising a garrison. The French army is also the leading employer in a country that has a population of only 500,000.

France gives Djibouti about \$300 million (\$80 million) a year. There are also large numbers of French voluntary workers in the country, most of them teachers. The financial aid works out at about \$600 (\$120) per head of population, 10 times the amount allotted to Mali and Niger. But it is still not enough.

The country was run fairly efficiently until the early 1990s. But it is ailing today. Economic growth is a distant memory. Traffic through the port, the country's leading asset apart from its banking system, is steadily dwindling. If local

statistics are a reliable guide, the public deficit is more than 10 per cent of GDP. Government salaries and pensions are paid late. And corruption is gnawing away at all levels of society.

One out of every two able-bodied people is out of work. Public coffers are empty, and the government has no qualms about dipping into the funds of the public enterprises that are still performing well.

"Society has lost its points of reference. Everything's upside down. It's exhausting," said one local resident.

"We're witnessing a slow deterioration, the country is falling apart," a diplomat added.

Since the end of the 1991-93 civil war between the Afars and the ruling Issas, the government has been building up its stocks of weapons and increasing its army from 4,000 to 15,000 men. Although they have much larger populations, neither Cameroon nor the Ivory Coast has an army as big as Djibouti's. The country has become a garrison

**'Society has lost its points of reference. Everything's upside down. It's exhausting'**

republic, the likes of which can be found nowhere else on the African continent.

It has not taken long for the mobilisation to produce its effects. The Afar rebels of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (Frud) have surrendered their weapons and no longer pose a serious threat. But the country, with its overlarge and unreliable army, is bankrupt. Only the Islamists are benefiting from the situation.



"You'll stop laughing when you get the IMF"

"Islamic fundamentalism is on the rise," said Djibouti's Bishop Peron. "More and more women are wearing the veil."

According to Abdallah Kamil, the former prime minister and a leading Afar opposition figure: "Djibouti needs a government of national unity."

But his cautious call has little chance of falling on receptive ears, even though two former Frud officials have recently joined the government.

"National reconciliation" is still a hollow phrase. "It's just show. We still have a dictatorship with a tribal face," said a local resident.

Fear of harassment by the army is keeping Afar refugees from returning to their villages in the north. Instead, they squat on the outskirts of the capital in cardboard-and-tin shacks without running water, sanitation or electricity.

A power struggle is taking place among the Issas. Hassan Gouled

Aptidou, who has been president since the country's independence, will soon be turning 80. He is said to be tired and few believe the "father of the nation" will live out his mandate, which ends in 1999.

His nephew and principal private secretary, Ismael Omar Guelleh, seems to have the best chance of succeeding him. He is an intelligent, but violent, man who is said to be Paris's choice for want of a better candidate. He has two Issa rivals: the justice and Muslim affairs minister, Mourim Bahdou Farah, and the president's chief of staff, Ismael Gueddi Hared, whose influence is reportedly waning.

"We don't want a hereditary succession of power," warned Oblik Carton, an opposition leader. "If there is an attempt to impose a successor on us, then Djibouti must be prepared for a scenario similar to Somalia."

All the politicians brandish the spectre of Somalia, especially

when they seek France's support. But Paris is turning a deaf ear to such appeals. Michel Roussin, who was Edouard Balladur's minister of co-operation, was the last person to grant budgetary assistance to Djibouti. Local leaders know there will be no more until the young republic signs a structural adjustment programme with the International Monetary Fund.

**It has become a garrison republic, the likes of which cannot be found in Africa**

at the end of July to go through the government's tangled accounts, and it should have a programme ready by the autumn.

Djibouti officials believe the situation could worsen if some of the French troops are withdrawn. And the prospect of withdrawal is not so far-fetched. The current hard times in France favour such a move, and the top military brass in Paris is said not to oppose it.

Keeping 10 Mirage F-1s in Djibouti, along with warships and substantial land forces — a total of 3,700 military personnel, most of whom have come here with their families — can be justified only as part of an overall regional plan. But France has no interests in the neighbouring countries — Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. As for the Gulf war, it led to only a minor mobilisation of French forces in the Horn of Africa.

Apart from the substantial financial advantages that go with being posted here, Djibouti is worthwhile only for the room it allows for army exercises. Army manoeuvres can be carried out practically all over the territory. It also has a 200sq km shooting range, the only one of this size outside France.

"For us, it's a dream," said one French army officer. But it is a dream that is costing the French taxpayer dear.

(August 5)

# Saudi Arabia moves slowly along road to democracy

Is the Wahabi regime using modernisation as an excuse to hold back political liberalisation, asks **Mouna Na'im**

**D**OES THE cabinet reshuffle on August 2 mean that in future Saudi Arabia's new information minister will answer even the most difficult questions from journalists? Will he stop laying down the law on what is and what is not allowed? The answer to both these questions is "no".

Saudi Arabia is no more ready to usher in a revolution in school and university programmes, or introduce a new oil policy than it is to allow spirited debates in the near future like those going on in Kuwait's National Council, where speakers unhesitatingly question members of the ruling family and challenge the relevance of laws and decrees promulgated by the emir himself.

There is no parliament in the land of the "custodian of Islam's two holy places" (Mecca and Medina). A consultative council of 60

members, all appointed by the king, came into existence in 1993. The Saudi monarch remains, all powerful; he decides the broad orientation of the country's domestic and foreign policies. The reshuffle has not brought any member of the opposition into the ministerial team, and it has neither altered the order of succession within the ruling family nor loosened the family's hold on the state. Western diplomats and many Saudis themselves believe such a change is long overdue.

The ministerial reshuffle was prompted by a desire to modernise the state apparatus, but there is no guarantee that modernisation will make life more democratic. On the other hand, there is a serious risk of the process being used as an excuse for not providing badly needed arenas for free expression.

Dictated by both domestic necessities as well as regional and international pressures, the reshuffle has resulted in younger men being given greater responsibilities but not more power. It is an irony of history that the Wahabi kingdom, which for decades served as the "guide" to the region's other gov-

ernments, is now being forced to follow them.

Parliamentary democracy, however limited it may be, is functioning in Kuwait. Qatar is undergoing a rejuvenation after its ageing ruler was deposed by his son who has reshuffled a fossilised government and set up a stock exchange to stimulate the economy. Under popular pressure, Bahrain's ruler was forced to undertake his first cabinet reshuffle in 20 years, however token the gesture may be.

Though Oman emerged only 25 years ago from the Middle Ages in which it had been kept by Said bin Taimur, the present ruler's father, the sultanate has gone a step further. At the end of last year it did something completely unheard-of in the region — it included two women in a 60-member consultative council nominated by the sultan on the basis of regional "primaries". There is a good chance of pluralism taking root in Yemen, which is now unified, despite Riyadh's efforts to prevent this and despite the lost opportunities as a result of last year's civil war.

With all these changes taking

place around it, Saudi Arabia can hardly afford to stand still.

After Kuwait was liberated, at the end of the Gulf war, King Fahd was also subjected to "friendly" pressure from the United States. Washington was anxious to see the country usher in democratic reforms as a clash loomed between liberals urging an opening up of the kingdom and the Islamist opposition insisting on a tightening of religious controls.

Both sides are clamouring for the right to express their views, and they condemn governmental apathy, widespread corruption and the squandering of resources. Washington, like other western countries, believes that support for the Islamic fundamentalist opposition could be stifled by cleaning up the administration and granting more forums that allow free expression. (This would guarantee the stability of the kingdom — its strategic importance is plain to see — and its royal family.)

Recent reforms — such as setting up a consultative council that also includes a member of the Shia minority, adopting a basic law, and regulating government mandates — have proceeded rapidly com-

pared with past innovations. But political liberties are making no headway. In fact, they may actually be shrinking.

Under pressure from Islamic authorities — who form a fundamental prop to the kingdom — and fearful of weakening the royal family, the Saudi ruler hides behind the *sharia* (Koranic law) to negate the universal character of human rights.

Amnesty International regularly criticises the Saudi government for relentlessly hounding opponents and torturing prisoners. There is no freedom of worship, not even for foreign nationals living in the kingdom. In a country where state-of-the-art gadgets abound, no breach is tolerated of the iron rule of political and ideological correctness. Even satellite dishes were recently forbidden.

The hope of change can come only from steady pressure by a young and increasingly better-educated population fed up with having to go abroad to let their hair down. They have become tired of waiting for democratic reforms. The days are long gone when the authorities could take 30 years to carry out a project, as they did with the consultative council and the fundamental law, both first considered by King Faisal back in 1963.

(August 5)

# China's capitalist heart starts to beat

Shanghai looks set to become a towering commercial centre, writes **Erik Izraelwicz**

**O**PPPOSITE the Bund, Shanghai's celebrated art deco waterfront boulevard, there now stands the world's tallest television tower (468 metres), which was completed a few weeks ago. Nearby, the "longest bridge in the world" — longest because of its interminable approach ramps — leads across the Huangpu river to Pudong (Shanghai East), the biggest development zone on the planet, where some 100 skyscrapers are under construction.

One of them, a 95-storey monster built by the Japanese, will shortly become the world's tallest building. By the end of the year, a 30-storey department store will open its doors. Needless to say, it will be bigger than any other built anywhere else in the world.

In modern Shanghai, superlatives are once again in vogue. The city is one huge building site. Day and night, teams of construction workers are employed simultaneously on the rehabilitation of the city's historic centre, a new underground line, a north-south urban expressway, a 48km ring road and, above all, Pudong. This industrial, financial and trade centre of colossal proportions will cover an area of 520 square kilometres — almost as big as Singapore.

When a delegation of French employers visited China four years ago, Shanghai was already one of several southern Chinese cities that had begun to take off economically: it had an annual growth rate of 20 per cent. At that time Pudong was still a run-down area, half urban and half rural, located between the Yangzijiang river and its tributary the Huangpu.

The French delegation showed political interest in the models of the development zone they were shown, thinking no doubt that this was yet

dam, London, New York and Tokyo have successively played that role. Shanghai is a strong contender for their succession. First, it is one of the most populous (14 million inhabitants) and extensive cities in the world.

Geographically, it enjoys an exceptional location, forming a communications hub right in the middle of a region that already has, and will probably continue to have for the next two decades, the highest growth rate in the world.

Located on the Yangzijiang delta, Shanghai is the largest port in communist China and the third-largest in the world. Its hinterland, including the Yangzijiang valley, which is rich in raw materials, is already experiencing a boom. Pudong will be the head of the dragon whose body is the Yangzijiang," says Yang Jianyi of the city's PR office.

Shanghai has another trump card: it was for a long time China's gateway to the outside world. This is reflected in its architecture. At the turn of the century, during the "first" period of unrestrained capitalism, it was an important trading centre.

The city has retained not only its lively street markets, but also its long-standing industrial and financial traditions. Forty-five years of communism have not completely snuffed out the "animal spirits" that are believed to encourage a sense of initiative in the people of Shanghai.

The city has now become the scene of a new outbreak of unrestrained capitalism. Westerners who have settled in Shanghai agree that the atmosphere resembles nothing more than the Wild West.

"There's an extraordinary openness and an entrepreneurial determination in this city that you won't find anywhere else in China," says Jan Borgonjon, one of the directors of the first private business school to be set up in the country.

The China Europe International Business School was originally opened in Beijing 10 years ago at the initiative of the European Community. Its aim was to train business managers. But Shanghai's magnetism was such that the school recently transferred there.

The city council donated a site in Pudong to the school, which will construct its own building to a design by the celebrated Shanghai-born architect, Ioh Ming Pei. The gritty determination of the council, which was long bridled by central government, is another of the city's great strengths.

Traditionally an open city, Shanghai welcomes foreign capital. In its capacity as a showcase of Deng Xiaoping's reforms, it has managed, more successfully even than the "special economic zones" created in the eighties, to take advantage of the stampede by multinationals from all over the world to get in on the Chinese act.

Attracted not only by major tax incentives, but by markets and cheap labour, such giants as NEC, Siemens, Volkswagen, AT&T, Alcatel, Neatle and Mitsubishi have been investing heavily. More than 35 foreign banks have begun once more to do business in China's former financial capital.

The city's communist councillors have been taking advice from committees of experts and the bosses of

major western companies. These include two Frenchmen — Antoine Riboud and Edouard de Royère, the heads of Danone and Air Liquide respectively.

Shanghai has already become the most fashionable place for communist China's *nouveau riches* to do their shopping in. Luxury goods manufacturers, such as L'Oréal, Louis Vuitton and Ralph Lauren, have opened stores, convinced that Shanghai will soon become a fashion capital once more. A few days ago, Printemps inaugurated its first department store in China, a five-storey building with a floor space of 10,000 square metres.

But it is Pudong that will no doubt turn Shanghai into a new "world-city". This mammoth project, which was launched by Beijing at the beginning of the nineties, is due for completion in 2030.

It will have everything: an airport, a deep-water harbour, a huge industrial zone, shopping centres, university campuses, a customs-free area, sites for hi-tech industrial companies, state-of-the-art telecommunications systems, and whole clumps of high-rise office blocks.

An example of Pudong-to-be is Lujiazui, the financial centre now being built on the waterfront facing the Bund. The Bank of China has already moved into its new premises there. Six thousand workers are in the process of completing the building that will house the Shanghai stock exchange (it already has more than 200 companies on its listed market).

However, new-style Shanghai will have to face threats from two quarters. One of them is competition from Hong Kong, once the British have handed over their colony to China on July 1, 1997.

Hong Kong is well located, has a modern and effective infrastructure, and benefits from a wealthy and dynamic hinterland in the

**Shanghai's economic, financial and cultural clout could end up causing jealous alarm in Beijing**

shape of Canton and the province of Guangdong. Everything will depend on whether it is put to good use or stifled by its new master.

The other threat is more directly political. The future of Shanghai will be played out partly in Beijing. The Communist party has long sought to curb the economic development of southern China. Since the early nineties, the so-called "Shanghai clique", which enjoys a strong position within the party, has been favourable to the city. President Jiang Zemin and senior vice-premier Zhu Rongji, nicknamed the "tsar of the economy", are both former mayors of Shanghai.

But the wind may change. Although the man heading the Pudong project says nothing can stop it now, Shanghai's economic, financial and cultural clout could well end up causing jealous alarm in Beijing.

Braudel showed that rivalry between "world-cities" and the capitals of the countries in which they are located has been a constant feature of the history of capitalism. The fact that Beijing calls itself a communist regime does not make any difference. Indeed, it may well prove a boon to Shanghai.

(August 4)



A step down... begging has become widespread this summer

# Brother, can you spare a franc?

A move to clamp down on begging in France has divided the government. **Michel Castaing** reports

**E**VER since the French interior minister, Jean-Louis Debré, sent out a controversial circular to prefects on July 20 urging them to ban begging, the government has been trying to play down the whole affair. And one minister has even come out openly against the ban. He is the culture minister and former health minister, Philippe Douste-Blazy.

In the August 6 issue of the *Journal du Dimanche*, Douste-Blazy wrote: "It is the duty of every responsible citizen to regard begging not as an offence or a failing that should be seized upon, but as a human predicament that can be relieved by a genuine form of solidarity."

"It would be quite wrong for beggars to be seen as the new enemies of modern society. Banning them from the community only adds a further degree of exclusion to that which they already suffer. Begging is a source of shame which should haunt all ministers past and present — and that includes myself — who, it is true, find it very hard to put themselves in the shoes of the homeless."

Debré now seems increasingly isolated within the government. While the prime minister's office pointed out on August 3 that the circular did no more than "reiterate existing legislation", it did also go on to echo an earlier statement by the Prime Minister, Alain Juppé, and his secretary of state for emergency humanitarian action, Xavier Emmanuelli: "It is also true that the many causes of begging cannot be eliminated by order of the prefect."

Although the issue has clearly caused tensions within the Juppé government, no political party has officially entered the fray. This is no doubt because the more repressively minded mayors come from every part of the political spectrum, from the Communist party (Paris), the Socialist party (Pau) and the Radical party (La Rochelle) to the neo-Gaullist RPR (Valence, Avignon), the centre-right UDF (Perpignan, Angoulême) and the National Front (Toulon).

The begging issue, which is closely connected with the problem of social exclusion, has not prompted comment from any luminary of the left. Could it be that they are all on holiday?

For rather different reasons, voluntary associations have also tended to avoid the controversy. Only the League of Human Rights, the Abbé Pierre Foundation and

Droits Devant have protested against the Debré circular.

Associations that work throughout the year trying to ensure that those who fall through the safety net are not forced to become beggars may feel that if they rock the boat too hard they will hinder the efforts being made by two of their leading figures, Bernard Quareta and Danielle Huesges, who have been officially asked by Emmanuelli to act as mediators with city mayors.

Their mission should throw light on why begging has become so widespread this summer, particularly in towns and cities that hold festivals. Emmanuelli is not alone in believing that the main battalions of beggars are made up of young drop-outs. Although some of them could be defined as belonging to a deliberate backpacker culture, it should not be forgotten that persons under 25 who are out of a job and have no children are not entitled to income support.

It is they who mostly account for the 9 per cent of the poor who, according to a recent survey by a government advisory body, the Economic and Social Council (ESC), say they have "no income whatsoever".

**B**UT THERE are also other categories of people who have no means of support, quite apart from *clochards* (tramps): isolated individuals who have slipped through the income support net as a result of mistakes by the social security department or, more often, because they are not aware of their rights.

It is hard to locate people who occupy what the ESC survey described as "interstitial" shelter (squats, underground car parks, spaghetti junctions and so on). There are also those who live on the fringes of society, such as foreigners without residence permits or people who, whether justifiably or not, are frightened of applying to any kind of authority.

The ESC has called for the creation of an allowance to help the under-25s find their first job. In the meantime, those who have no means of support, no source of aid and no possibility of finding a job are forced to resort either to begging or to petty crime. That being the case, who should be holding out their hand, and to whom?

(August 8)



## The mirror image of a surrealist punk

The life and work of the photographer Claude Cahun is the subject of a major reappraisal, writes **Michel Guerrin**

**T**HE Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris is on decidedly good form. This summer and early autumn, in addition to shows devoted to two major modern artists, Marc Chagall and Louise Bourgeois, it has organised a remarkably precise and intelligent exhibition of works by the photographer Claude Cahun.

Until recently, little was known about Cahun. Her ambiguously mannish-looking self-portraits used to pop up from time to time in exhibitions devoted to Surrealism. The show at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris offers a full account of her literary as a photographer. It includes well over 100 pictures, many of them small (the same size as the negative), from several private and public collections. Also on show are books and notebooks which reveal Cahun to be the author of hard-hitting pamphlets.

The show opens with her self-portraits, which are undoubtedly the finest, most personal, most striking and most moving of her works. Through them, we learn how a woman called Lucy Schwob thought up a name, a gender, a head, a body and an identity for herself.

She adopted a pseudonym redolent of sexual ambiguity (Claude is both a man and a woman's name) because of its kinship with Léon Cahun, my maternal grandmother's brother. She cropped her hair very short, sometimes dying it pink, gold or silver. On occasion she shaved her head completely.

She emphasised the harshness of her face and her hooked nose, painted delicate hearts on her cheeks, used masks and other artifices — mirrors, dark glasses, tinting, double images, makeup.

Cahun alternated between the lyrical and the descriptive. One moment, she was inventing sophisticated tableaux inspired by experiences and narrative games that were very much of their period; the next, she offered stark images, both from the front and in profile, in which she opts for total spareness.

Cahun started taking photographs in 1910. She had no connections with any artistic movement or school and showed her pictures only to a few friends.

As she was frightened by the world — "The animal horror of any contact with my fellow creatures is something I feel as constantly as a cat does" — she preferred to construct a universe of her own with the woman who shared her life from 1909, Suzanne Malherbe ("Moore"), whom she called "the other me".

Cahun invented characters with her own body and carried out transformations in a way that no one had ever dared to do before her: she turned into a man, sometimes looked like a punk before her time, sported a suit and tie, donned garments straight out of *The Thousand and One Nights*, or dressed up as a gymnast complete with dumbbells.

By cross-dressing, Cahun asserted her independence and denied her femininity and the social conventions of the period. Her photographs sometimes show her head imprisoned in a glass cloche. Her gender is either denied or exaggerated (although she never posed in the nude).

In 1932, Cahun used bits of wood, a spoon and pieces of metal to make and photograph a construction called *Père* (Father), who lies spreadeagled on the ground, abandoned and apparently dead, with his genitals shattered by an explosion and a thin metal rod stuck in his navel.

As well as photographing herself, Cahun took portraits of friends like Sylvia Beach, Robert Desnos, Henri Michaux, André Breton, and Suzanne Malherbe. She also pro-



Claude Cahun, self-portrait (1928). She emphasised her angularity

duced disturbing snapshots (a body floating between sky, water and rock), mysterious *jeux de mains* (juxtaposed pairs of hands), and subtle assemblies of objects, including dolls and wooden models, in a manner reminiscent of Man Ray. These experimental works, which hover somewhere between the real and the imaginary, place Cahun's vision firmly in a Surrealist perspective. But her oeuvre is difficult to pin down, since it is at once idealistic and pessimistic, lyrical and realist.

Although there are hints of her far-left political commitment (she uses the communist newspaper *L'Humanité* in the construction of figures), the main feature of her work is its eclecticism and its refusal to be constrained by any system.

As François Leprieux writes in the excellent exhibition catalogue: "Resistant as she was to any specialisation of the creative processes,

she multiplied her means of expression as though they were a series of roles in which she refused to become typecast — poet, essayist, literary critic, short-story writer, translator, actress, constructor and explorer of objects", photographer and revolutionary activist — and which, when looked at objectively, were doomed to remain only partly successful."

Cahun will be remembered for having been the first photographer to have explored the art of the self-portrait in a systematic and intelligent way. And she did so throughout her life. Her aim was less to assert herself as an artist than to give notice of her presence.

Thus, during the Occupation of Jersey (towards the end of which she was arrested and sentenced to death by the Nazis), Cahun devised a series of eight pictures entitled *Le Chemin des Châli* (The Cats' Way), in which she portrays herself as a blind woman led by a cat on a lead.

These images can be interpreted as an extension of her life as an eccentric, who in the thirties, as Leprieux reminds us, shunned into parties arm in arm with Malherbe, wearing "an extravagant dress or a man's outfit, complete with monocle". They can also be seen as an exemplary vehicle for a discussion of androgyny.

Cahun's approach is at opposite poles from that of the American artist Cindy Sherman, who for more than 20 years now has been building up an oeuvre based on self-portraits, and who has been described, perhaps wrongly, as the first woman photographer to work in the genre.

Whereas Cahun is at one with her work, in the sense that photography is an extension of her own story, Sherman simply chooses her body as a model with which to reconstruct stereotypes of American women — or women in general — during the seventies and eighties, and, more recently, to display the ill-being of the body.

Claude Cahun, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Closed Monday, Until September 17 (July 5)

## In memory of a village massacre

**Georges Chatain**

**T**HE VILLAGE of Oradour-sur-Glane, near Limoges, occupies an unenviable place in the history books: on June 10, 1944, retreating stormtroopers of the Das Reich Division massacred 648 of its inhabitants after herding them into a church.

In memory of the dead, the half-destroyed village was left as it was and after the war a new Oradour-sur-Glane was built nearby.

Five years after the massacre, a group of prominent intellectuals with communist sympathies presented a *Livre d'Or* (Visitor's Book) to the village as a tribute to the dead. It was subsequently put in mothballs and forgotten for 45 years in the cellars of the new municipal hall.

The book, a veritable treasure trove, resurfaced recently and is now on show at Oradour-sur-Glane. It contains autographed poems by Louis Aragon and Tristan Tzara, unknown works by Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, Marcel Gromaire, André Fougere and Paul Colin, a handwritten score by the composer Jean Wiener, and a manuscript text by the physician François Joliot-Curie amidst dozens of other dedications and signatures.

On June 12, 1949, convoys of vehicles from all over France converged on Oradour-sur-Glane. The biggest of them, which came from Paris, was headed by Joliot-Curie and Aragon, who wrote his "Chanson de la Caravane d'Oradour" specially for the occasion.

The actual date of the fifth anniversary of the massacre was June 10, 1949. On that day, the defence minister, Paul Ramadier, had travelled to Oradour-sur-Glane to award the martyred village a collective Légion d'Honneur. The honour was spurned by its communist councillors, who accused the government of not being energetic enough in bringing the perpetrators of the massacre to justice (they had been identified).

The rediscovery of the *Livre d'Or* has resulted in a small but powerful exhibition, given added interest by another controversial artefact: a model of the "monument to victims and martyrs" executed in 1945 by the Catalan sculptor Apel·les Penosa, which represents a nude pregnant woman being devoured by flames.

At the time, the sculpture was vehemently rejected on the grounds of its "carnal aesthetics". The bishop of Limoges said: "Survivors and relatives of the martyrs would be entitled to see it as an insult to the martyrs and an affront to their own grief."

Thirty years later, the bronze statue was finally taken out of the national collections, where it had been put for safe keeping, and erected at a crossroads on the outskirts of Limoges on the Oradour-sur-Glane road.

*Livre d'Or* Oradour-sur-Glane, Municipal Hall, Oradour-sur-Glane (Haute-Vienne). Closed Monday. Until September 10 (August 2)

**Le Monde**

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani  
World copyright by  
© Le Monde, Paris  
All rights strictly reserved

## The Washington Post

## Clinton Crackdown on Teen Smoking

**Wray and John Schwartz**

**F**OCUSING the tobacco industry of seducing young people to smoke, President Clinton ordered a historic government crackdown on underage smoking that was immediately challenged in federal court.

After the Food and Drug Administration formally published a proposed limits on tobacco advertising, promotion and sales techniques, Clinton said in a White House news conference that his administration was taking steps to cut teen smoking in half by curbing "the deadly seduction of tobacco and its ilk" by the industry.

The evidence is overwhelming, Clinton said, that the threat of immediate action by the industry is a threat to the health of the nation.

Clinton said the industry's tactics are "a threat to the health of the nation" and that the administration is taking steps to "cut teen smoking in half" by curbing "the deadly seduction of tobacco and its ilk" by the industry.

Clinton said the industry's tactics are "a threat to the health of the nation" and that the administration is taking steps to "cut teen smoking in half" by curbing "the deadly seduction of tobacco and its ilk" by the industry.

ads allowed in publications that have significant youth readership and a federal law, to match state laws, making underage smoking a crime.

The initiatives mesh to form a comprehensive anti-tobacco package, according to FDA Commissioner David Kessler. "Don't let the simplicity of these proposals fool you," Kessler said. If all elements of the anti-smoking package come into play together, he said, "we could see nicotine addiction go the way of smallpox and polio."

Five major U.S. cigarette manufacturers asserted in their suit that the FDA has no legal right to regulate tobacco and sought a court injunction to end the process until the issue of jurisdiction can be settled in a court, a process even the White House acknowledges could take years. Deregulating the "radical views" of Kessler, the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co. charged these restrictions were only a first step: "The agenda is clearly backdoor prohibition."

A coalition representing advertisers asserted the rules limiting advertising are an unconstitutional violation of the First Amendment. "We live in a nation of laws not edicts," said Daniel L. Jaffe of the Association of National Advertisers. "Advertisers will carry this fight all the way to the Supreme Court."

But medical authorities widely praised Clinton. "It is an excellent step in the direction of improving the public health of all Americans," said Lonnie Bristow, president of the American Medical Association. Sidney Smith, president of the



American Heart Association, called the regulations "probably the most important public health move by the government in the last 30 years."

Clinton said his preference was for Congress to pass legislation incorporating the restrictions, and White House Press Secretary Michael McCurry said if that occurred, the rulemaking process would become moot.

Friends of the tobacco industry, a powerful force in Congress both because of its campaign contributions and the jobs generated, reacted with outrage. Sen. Wendell Ford (Dem. Kentucky), complained bitterly on the Senate floor minutes after Clinton's announcement that "my farmers lost out to the zealots." He and other tobacco state legislators had heavily lobbied the president to reach a com-

pact with the tobacco industry in lieu of giving the FDA jurisdiction.

Some Republicans complained it was another sign of Democratic passion for overregulation, pointing to rules that would limit some tobacco ads to black and white type with no pictures or one that would set the number of feet from playgrounds billboards with cigarette advertising would have to locate.

Union leaders complained about job loss, citing the FDA's own assessment that the rules, if they succeeded in halving teenage smoking, would reduce tobacco-related jobs by 1,000 per year and cost the industry about \$256 million in revenue the first year and as much as \$1.2 billion in 10 years. "Regulating away thousands of American jobs is not the way" to reduce teenage smoking,

Frank Hurt, president of the union representing tobacco workers said.

But Clinton on Thursday brushed aside complaints — even one about his occasional private puffing on cigars. Clinton emphasized repeatedly that his rules are aimed at young people, not adults, and all but pledged they would go no further.

The tobacco industry questioned Clinton's intentions. "Make no mistake, the real hidden agenda here is prohibition," said Steve Parrish, the Philip Morris spokesman.

Parrish said the manufacturers believe other meaningful steps can and are being taken to prevent minors from smoking. They include: restricting access to cigarette vending machines, proof-of-age requirements and better training of retail sales clerks.

## Grand Jury Indicts Oklahoma Bombing Suspects

**Tom Thomas and  
Mike Lardner Jr.**

**F**EDERAL grand jury in Oklahoma City last week accused James McVeigh and Terry Nichols of conspiring to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building last April and said it was convinced that others, as yet unidentified, had taken part in the attack.

There was "probable cause" to believe there were more conspirators, the 11-count indictment alleged, the defendants plotted together and with others unknown, but it made no reference to a role these others might have played. Attorney General Janet Reno said at a news conference in Washington that "the investigation continues" but she declined to comment on the prospects of identifying and apprehending any conspirators.

A friend and onetime Army buddy of the two main defendants, Michael Fortier, was charged in a separate indictment with knowing plans and concealing it from enforcement authorities. He also charged with lying to the FBI and involvement in a robbery that helped finance the terror attack. One hundred and eighty-eight people were killed and hundreds more injured.

Fortier has struck a deal with Justice Department prosecutors and is expected to testify against McVeigh and Nichols. What he has to say could provide the government with the most direct information to date in a case thus far built largely on circumstantial and forensic evidence.

U.S. Attorney Pat Ryan said in Oklahoma City that prosecutors will seek the death penalty against McVeigh and Nichols. Attorney General Reno, who is supposed to have the final say, announced shortly after the bombing that the death penalty would be sought against those responsible. Defense lawyers protested again last week that Reno had improperly made up her mind in advance and should disqualify herself.

Fortier, who formally pleaded guilty to the charges against him last week, faces a maximum of 23 years in prison and fines totaling \$1 million if convicted of the four counts against him.

"What we will do is pursue every lead, based on the evidence," Reno said, when asked about additional suspects. "But we have charged everyone involved that we have evidence of at this point."

Asked about the dismembered leg, clothed in military garb found deep in the blast site, officials here and in Oklahoma City said investi-

gators are still trying to determine whether it has any bearing on the case. Last week's discovery touched off speculation that it may have belonged to a man some witnesses said they saw with McVeigh on the morning of the April 19 bombing.

Regarding another unsolved mystery, FBI Director Louis J. Freeh, who joined Reno at the news conference, said the bureau has not withdrawn a circular showing a muscular man known as "John Doe 2," whom some witnesses said they saw with McVeigh when he picked up the Ryder rental truck used in the bombing. "So he (John Doe 2) still is an active suspect?" Freeh was asked. "I wouldn't characterize him as that," Freeh replied. "My answer is that we haven't withdrawn the circular right now."

The government has withdrawn all charges against Terry Nichols's brother, James. He had been picked up in Michigan shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing and was held for a month in jail as a material witness before being indicted on three explosives charges. In acknowledging the case against James Nichols had fizzled, U.S. Attorney Saul A. Green said in Detroit that "additional investigation failed to corroborate some of the important evidence on which the government initially relied."

The most exhaustive investigations in the nation's history charged McVeigh and Nichols with conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction to kill people and destroy federal property, with using a truck bomb to kill people, and with malicious destruction of property resulting in death. The conspiracy charge lists by name all persons who died inside the Murrah Building in order of their age from 73 to four months.

The indictment elicits the questions of why and just when McVeigh, 27, and Nichols, 40, decided to blow up the Murrah Building, but it lists the first overt act as having taken place on September 22, 1994, when McVeigh rented a storage unit in Herington, Kansas, in the name of "Shawn Rivers." In a sparse chronology, the indictment tells of how the two defendants allegedly collected materials for the bomb, stored them and eventually assembled the device.

Defense attorneys for McVeigh and Nichols attacked the prosecution case as a rush to judgment and said they would press to have the trial held outside Oklahoma. "Terry Nichols is not guilty of the allegations of which he is charged," said Nichols's chief defense lawyer, Michael Tigar. He denounced the government's case as "a warped

over version of circumstantial evidence" and asserted there was nothing new in it.

Tigar also assailed Fortier. "If you want to know who's confessed to being involved in the bombing, he's (Fortier) right down the street," the defense attorney said. "We do not fear anything Mr. Fortier has to say."

Fortier's lawyer, Michael McGuire, described his client as full of remorse. "There is no expression of grief or words sufficient to describe his anguish over the responsibility he feels for knowing about the plans to bomb the Murrah Building," McGuire said in an interview at his office.

Stephen Jones, McVeigh's chief lawyer, suggested the government's grant of immunity to Fortier's wife, Lori, was a strong factor along with the plea bargain Fortier struck.

"I think any time the government has to give two (potential) codefendants a pretty good deal, there are weaknesses in the case," Jones told reporters. He quickly sought to cloud the prosecution's contentions by issuing a statement about a government informant who late last year warned federal authorities of a developing bomb plot against a federal building in midwestern city.

According to Jones, the informant described the orchestrators of the plot as a combination of American citizens and, he thought, either Latin Americans or Arabs. The individuals were identified by Arabic names, McGuire said.



## The mirror image of a surrealist punk

The life and work of the photographer Claude Cahun is the subject of a major reappraisal, writes Michel Guerrin

THE Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris is on decidedly good form. This summer and early autumn, in addition to shows devoted to two major modern artists, Marc Chagall and Louise Bourgeois, it has organized a remarkably precise and intelligent exhibition of works by the photographer Claude Cahun.

Until recently, little was known about Cahun. Her ambiguously mannish-looking self-portraits used to pop up from time to time in exhibitions devoted to Surrealism. The show at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris offers a full account of her itinerary as a photographer. It includes well over 100 pictures, many of them small (the same size as the negative), from several private and public collections. Also on show are books and notebooks which reveal Cahun to be the author of hard-hitting pamphlets.

The show opens with her self-portraits, which are undoubtedly the finest, most personal, most striking and most moving of her works. Through them, we learn how a woman called Lucy Schwob thought up a name, a gender, a head, a body and an identity for herself.

She adopted a pseudonym redolent of sexual ambiguity (Claude is both a man and a woman's name) "because of its kinship with Léon Cahun, my maternal grandmother's brother". She cropped her hair very short, sometimes dying it pink, gold or silver. On occasion she shaved her head completely.

She emphasized the harshness of her face and her hooked nose, painted delicate hearts on her cheeks, used masks and other artifices — mirrors, dark glasses, tinting, double images, makeup.

Cahun alternated between the lyrical and the descriptive. One moment, she was inventing sophisticated tableaux inspired by experiences and narrative games that were very much of their period; the next, she offered stark images, both from the front and in profile, in which she opts for total sparseness.

Cahun started taking photographs in 1910. She had no connections with any artistic movement or school and showed her pictures only to a few friends.

As she was frightened by the world — "The animal horror of any contact with my fellow creatures is something I feel as constantly as a cat does" — she preferred to construct a universe of her own with the woman who shared her life from 1909, Suzanne Malherbe ("Moore"), whom she called "the other me".

Cahun invented characters with her own body and carried out transformations in a way that no one had ever dared to do before her: she turned into a man, sometimes looked like a punk before her time, sported a suit and tie, donned garments straight out of *The Thousand and One Nights*, or dressed up as a gymnast complete with dumbbells.

By cross-dressing, Cahun asserted her independence and denied her femininity and the social conventions of the period. Her photographs sometimes show her head imprisoned in a glass cloche. Her gender is either denied or exaggerated (although she never posed in the nude).

In 1932, Cahun used bits of wood, a spoon and pieces of metal to make and photograph a construction called *Père (Father)*, who lies spreadeagled on the ground, abandoned and apparently dead, with his genitals shattered by an explosion and a thin metal rod stuck in his navel.

As well as photographing herself, Cahun took portraits of friends like Sylvia Beach, Robert Desnos, Henri Michaux, André Breton, and Suzanne Malherbe. She also pro-



Claude Cahun, self-portrait (1928). She emphasized her angularity

duced disturbing snapshots (a body floating between sky, water and rock), mysterious *jeux de mains* (juxtaposed pairs of hands), and subtle assemblies of objects, including dolls and wooden models, in a manner reminiscent of Man Ray.

These experimental works, which hover somewhere between the real and the imaginary, place Cahun's vision firmly in a Surrealist perspective. But her oeuvre is difficult to pin down, since it is at once idealistic and pessimistic, lyrical and realist.

Although there are hints of her far-left political commitment (she uses the communist newspaper *L'Humanité* in the construction of figures), the main feature of her work is its eclecticism and its refusal to be constrained by any system.

As François Leperlier writes in the excellent exhibition catalogue: "Resistant as she was to any specialisation of the creative processes,

she multiplied her means of expression as though they were a series of roles in which she refused to become typecast — poet, essayist, literary critic, short-story writer, translator, actress, 'constructor and explorer of objects', photographer and revolutionary activist — and which, when looked at objectively, were doomed to remain only partly successful."

Cahun will be remembered for having been the first photographer to have explored the art of the self-portrait in a systematic and intelligent way. And she did so throughout her life. Her aim was less to assert herself as an artist than to give notice of her presence.

Thus, during the Occupation of Jersey (towards the end of which she was arrested and sentenced to death by the Nazis), Cahun devised a series of eight pictures entitled *Le Chemin des Chats (The Cats' Way)*, in which she portrays herself as a blind woman led by a cat on a lead.

These images can be interpreted as an extension of her life as an eccentric, who in the thirties, as Leperlier reminds us, was shunned by parties arm in arm with Malherbe, wearing "an extravagant dress or a man's outfit, complete with monocle". They can also be seen as an exemplary vehicle for a discussion of androgyny.

Cahun's approach is at opposite poles from that of the American artist Cindy Sherman, who for more than 20 years now has been building up an oeuvre based on self-portraits, and who has been described, perhaps wrongly, as the first woman photographer to work in the genre.

Whereas Cahun is at one with her work, in the sense that photography is an extension of her own story, Sherman simply chooses her body as a model with which to reconstruct stereotypes of American women — or women in general — during the seventies and eighties, and, more recently, to display the ill-being of the body.

Claude Cahun, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Closed Monday. Until September 17 (July 5)

## In memory of a village massacre

Georges Chatain

THE VILLAGE of Oradour-sur-Glane, near Limoges, occupies an unenviable place in the history books: on June 10, 1944, retreating stormtroopers of the Das Reich Division massacred 648 of its inhabitants after herding them into a church.

In memory of the dead, the half-destroyed village was left as it was and after the war a new Oradour-sur-Glane was built nearby. Five years after the massacre, a group of prominent intellectuals with communist sympathies presented a *Livre d'Or* (Visitor's Book) to the village as a tribute to the dead. It was subsequently put in mothballs and forgotten for 45 years in the cellars of the new municipal hall.

The book, a veritable treasure trove, resurfaced recently and is now on show at Oradour-sur-Glane. It contains autographed poems by Louis Aragon and Tristan Tzara, unknown works by Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, Marcel Gromaire, André Fougeron and Paul Collu, a handwritten score by the composer Jean Wiener, and a manuscript text by the physicist François Joliot-Curie amidst dozens of other dedications and signatures.

On June 12, 1949, convoys of vehicles from all over France converged on Oradour-sur-Glane. The biggest of them, which came from Paris, was headed by Joliot-Curie and Aragon, who wrote his "Chanson de la Caravane d'Oradour" specially for the occasion.

The actual date of the fifth anniversary of the massacre was June 10, 1949. On that day, the defence minister, Paul Ramadier, had travelled to Oradour-sur-Glane to award the martyred village a collective Légion d'Honneur. The honour was spurned by its communist councillors, who accused the government of not being energetic enough in bringing the perpetrators of the massacre to justice (they had been identified).

The rediscovery of the *Livre d'Or* has resulted in a small but powerful exhibition, given added interest by another controversial artefact: a model of the "monument to victims and martyrs" executed in 1945 by the Catalan sculptor Apelles Fenosa, which represents a nude pregnant woman being devoured by flames.

At the time, the sculpture was vehemently rejected on the grounds of its "barbaric aesthetics". The bishop of Limoges said: "Survivors and relatives of the martyrs would be entitled to see it as an insult to the martyrs and an affront to their own grief."

Thirty years later, the bronze statue was finally taken out of the official collections, where it had been put for safe keeping, and erected as a crossroads on the outskirts of Limoges on the Oradour-sur-Glane road.

*Livre d'Or Oradour-sur-Glane*. Municipal Hall, Oradour-sur-Glane (Haute-Vienne). Closed Monday. Until September 10 (August 2)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani  
World copyright by  
© Le Monde, Paris  
All rights strictly reserved

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
August 23 1995

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
August 23 1995

## The Washington Post

### Clinton Crackdown On Teen Smoking

Ann Devroy and John Schwartz

ACCUSING the tobacco industry of seducing young people to smoke, President Clinton last week ordered a historic government crackdown on underage smoking that was immediately challenged in federal court.

Hours after the Food and Drug Administration formally published a list of proposed limits on tobacco advertising, promotion and sales techniques, Clinton said in a White House news conference that his goal was to cut teen smoking in half by sharply curtailing "the deadly temptations of tobacco and its skillful marketing" by the industry.

The evidence is overwhelming and the threat immediate," Clinton said. "Cigarettes and smokeless tobacco are harmful, highly addictive and aggressively marketed to our young people."

Clinton's dramatic step of giving the FDA authority to regulate cigarettes because of their nicotine content allowed the agency to begin the process of rulemaking with the publication of a list of proposed rules governing teenage smoking.

Among those cited by Clinton at his news conference are proposals that would outlaw tobacco brand-name sponsorship of sporting events and brand-name advertising on items like hats and t-shirts; a ban on cigarette vending-machine sales so cigarettes can only be bought over the counter where proof of age would be required; a requirement that the industry run a \$150 million education campaign against underage smoking; limits on the kind of

ads allowed in publications that have significant youth readership and a federal law, to match state laws, making underage smoking a crime.

The initiatives mesh to form a comprehensive anti-tobacco package, according to FDA Commissioner David Kessler. "Don't let the simplicity of these proposals fool you," Kessler said. If all elements of the anti-smoking package come into play together, he said, "we could see nicotine addiction go the way of smallpox and polio."

Five major U.S. cigarette manufacturers asserted in their suit that the FDA has no legal right to regulate tobacco and sought a court injunction to end the process until the issue of jurisdiction can be settled in a court, a process even the White House acknowledges could take years. Decrying the "radical views" of Kessler, the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co. charged these restrictions were only a first step: "The agenda is clearly backdoor prohibition."

A coalition representing advertisers asserted the rules limiting advertising are an unconstitutional violation of the First Amendment. "We live in a nation of laws not edicts," said Daniel L. Jaffe of the Association of National Advertisers. "Advertisers will carry this fight all the way to the Supreme Court."

But medical authorities widely praised Clinton. "It is an excellent step in the direction of improving the public health of all Americans," said Lonnie Bristow, president of the American Medical Association. Sidney Smith, president of the



American Heart Association, called the regulations "probably the most important public health move by the government in the last 30 years."

Clinton said his preference was for Congress to pass legislation incorporating the restrictions, and White House Press Secretary Michael McCurry said if that occurred, the rulemaking process would become moot.

Friends of the tobacco industry, a powerful force in Congress both because of its campaign contributions and the jobs generated, reacted with outrage. Sen. Wendell Ford (Dem Kentucky), complained bitterly on the Senate floor minutes after Clinton's announcement that "my farmers lost out to the zealots." He and other tobacco state legislators had heavily lobbied the president to reach a com-

pact with the tobacco industry in lieu of giving the FDA jurisdiction.

Some Republicans complained it was another sign of Democratic passion for overregulation, pointing to rules that would limit some tobacco ads to black and white type with no pictures or one that would set the number of feet from playgrounds billboards with cigarette advertising would have to locate.

Union leaders complained about job loss, citing the FDA's own assessment that the rules, if they succeeded in halving teenage smoking, would reduce tobacco-related jobs by 1,000 per year and cost the industry about \$256 million in revenue the first year and as much as \$1.2 billion in 10 years. "Regulating away thousands of American jobs is not the way" to reduce teenage smoking.

Frank Hurt, president of the union representing tobacco workers said.

But Clinton on Thursday brushed aside complaints — even one about his occasional private puffing on cigars. Clinton emphasized repeatedly that his rules are aimed at young people, not adults, and all but pledged they would go no further. The tobacco industry questioned Clinton's intentions. "Make no mistake, the real hidden agenda here is prohibition," said Steve Parrish, the Philip Morris spokesman.

Parrish said the manufacturers believe other meaningful steps can and are being taken to prevent minors from smoking. They include: restricting access to cigarette vending machines, proof-of-age requirements and better training of retail sales clerks.

over version of circumstantial evidence" and asserted there was nothing new in it.

Tigar also assailed Fortier. "If you want to know who's confessed to being involved in the bombing, he's (Fortier) right down the street," the defense attorney said. "We do not fear anything Mr. Fortier has to say."

Fortier's lawyer, Michael McGuire, described his client as full of remorse. "There is no expression of grief or words sufficient to describe his anguish over the responsibility he feels for knowing about the plans to bomb the Murrah Building," McGuire said in an interview at his office.

Stephen Jones, McVeigh's chief lawyer, suggested the government's grant of immunity to Fortier's wife, Lori, was a strong factor along with the plea bargain Fortier struck.

"I think any time the government has to give two (potential) codefendants a pretty good deal, there are weaknesses in the case," Jones told reporters. He quickly sought to cloud the prosecution's contentions by issuing a statement about a government informant who late last year warned federal authorities of a developing bomb plot against a federal building in a southwestern city.

According to Jones, the informant described the orchestrator of the plot as a "combination of American citizens and Arabs." The individuals were identified by Arabic names.

### Grand Jury Indicts Oklahoma Bombing Suspects

Pierre Thomas and George Lardner Jr.

A FEDERAL grand jury in Oklahoma City last week accused Timothy James McVeigh and Terry Lynn Nichols of conspiring to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building last April and said it was convinced that others, as yet unidentified, had taken part in the plot.

There was "probable cause" to believe there were more conspirators. The 11-count indictment alleged the defendants plotted "together and with others unknown," but it made no reference to the role these others might have played. Attorney General, Janet Reno said at a news conference in Washington that "the investigation is continuing" but she declined to comment on the prospects of identifying and apprehending any co-conspirators.

A friend and onetime Army buddy of the two main defendants, Michael Fortier, was charged in a separate indictment with knowing of their plans and concealing it from law enforcement authorities. He was also charged with lying to the FBI and with involvement in a robbery that helped finance the terrorist attack. One hundred and sixty-eight people were killed and hundreds more injured.

Fortier has struck a deal with Justice Department prosecutors and is expected to testify against McVeigh and Nichols. What he has to say could provide the government with the most direct information to date in a case thus far built largely on circumstantial and forensic evidence.

U.S. Attorney Pat Ryan said in Oklahoma City that prosecutors will seek the death penalty against McVeigh and Nichols. Attorney General Reno, who is supposed to have the final say, announced shortly after the bombing that the death penalty would be sought against those responsible. Defense lawyers protested again last week that Reno had improperly made up her mind in advance and should disqualify herself.

Fortier, who formally pleaded guilty to the charges against him last week, faces a maximum of 23 years in prison and fines totaling \$1 million if convicted of the four counts against him.

"What we will do is pursue every lead, based on the evidence," Reno said when asked about additional suspects. "But we have charged everyone involved that we have evidence of at this point."

Asked about the dismembered, leg-clothed in military garb found deep in the blast site, officials here and in Oklahoma City said investi-

gators are still trying to determine whether it has any bearing on the case. Last week's discovery touched off speculation that it may have belonged to a man some witnesses said they saw with McVeigh on the morning of the April 19 bombing.

Regarding another unsolved mystery, FBI Director Louis J. Freeh, who joined Reno at the news conference, said the bureau has not withdrawn a circular showing a muscular man known as "John Doe 2," whom some witnesses said they saw with McVeigh when he picked up the Ryder rental truck used in the bombing.

"So he (John Doe 2) still is an active suspect?" Freeh was asked. "I wouldn't characterize him as that," Freeh replied. "My answer is that we haven't withdrawn the circular right now."

The government has withdrawn all charges against Terry Nichols' brother, James. He had been picked up in Michigan shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing and was held for a month in jail as a material witness before being indicted on three explosives charges. In acknowledging the case against James Nichols had fizzled, U.S. Attorney Saul A. Green said in Detroit that "additional investigation failed to corroborate some of the important evidence on which the government initially relied."

The most exhaustive investigations in the nation's history charged McVeigh and Nichols with conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction to kill people and destroy federal property, with using a truck bomb to kill people, and with malicious destruction of property resulting in death. The conspiracy charge lists by name all persons who died inside the Murrah Building in order of their age from 73 to four months.

THE indictment skirts the questions of why, and just when, McVeigh, 27, and Nichols, 40, decided to blow up the Murrah Building, but it lists the first overt act as having taken place on September 22, 1994, when McVeigh rented a storage unit in Herington, Kansas, in the name of "Shawn Rivers." In a sparse chronology, the indictment tells of how the two defendants allegedly collected materials for the bomb, stored them and eventually assembled the device.

Defense attorneys for McVeigh and Nichols attacked the prosecution case as a rush to judgment and said they would press to have the trial held outside Oklahoma.

"Terry Nichols is not guilty of the allegations of which he is charged," said Nichols' chief defense lawyer, Michael Tigar. He denounced the government's case as "a warped



## Pro-Abortion 'Champion' Changes Sides

Laurie Goodstein

THE WOMAN best known as "Jane Roe," whose struggle to obtain an abortion led to the landmark Roe v. Wade decision, has renounced her role in the abortion rights movement and been baptized a born-again Christian by the leader of the antiabortion group Operation Rescue.

Until this week, Norma McCorvey worked as marketing director at A Choice for Women, a clinic in Dallas, Texas, that performs abortions. She sparred regularly with the Rev. Flip Benham, national director of Operation Rescue, who four months ago moved his group's offices next door to the clinic. She called him "Pipper." He called her "Miss Norma."

Their sparring led to long conversations about McCorvey's spiritual life. Last week it was Benham who yelled "hallelujah" after dunking McCorvey in a baptismal pool.

"I think abortion is wrong," McCorvey told ABC News, which broke the story. "I think what I did was wrong. And I just had to take a pro-life position on choice."

"God gave Norma to us," Benham told ABC News.

McCorvey and Benham had found common ground in pasts of hard living and hard drinking. Benham owned a bar near Disney World in Florida and drank away



McCorvey: born-again Christian

most of what he made, before finding God and seeking ordination in the Free Methodist Church.

McCorvey, 47, is a one-time carnival barker, drug dealer and house cleaner who had a drinking problem. In her 1994 book, "I Am Roe: My Life, Roe v. Wade, and Freedom of Choice," she wrote of being abused at home, raped as a teenager, married at 18 and abused as a wife.

Pregnant for the third time, McCorvey sought an abortion in 1970. She told attorney Sarah Weddington she had been raped. Weddington pressed McCorvey's case all the way to the Supreme Court, and won. But the 1973 verdict came too late

for McCorvey, who carried the child to term and gave it up for adoption.

"Jane Roe" later admitted that she lied about being raped. But McCorvey told ABC News she has been haunted all these years by things like empty swings in a playground. "I thought, oh my God, the playgrounds are empty because there's no children because they've all been aborted."

Leaders of the abortion rights movement, including her former attorneys Sarah Weddington and Gloria Allred, played down the impact of McCorvey's apparent turnaround.

"Lucidly it doesn't matter what Norma McCorvey's doing today," Weddington said in a telephone interview with The Washington Post. "The fact that she was working in a clinic on Tuesday wasn't any particular help, and the fact that she's working for Operation Rescue on Wednesday doesn't hurt."

Said Allred, "I thank God and pro-choice activists that we live in a country where women like Norma can choose to be pro-abortion or anti-abortion according to their own conscience."

Weddington said McCorvey's defection to a movement that has courted her is understandable for a troubled woman who craves acceptance. "She's a person who has in recent years really craved and

sought attention, and I think she thought she felt she wasn't given enough attention" by pro-choice advocates. In Flip Benham and Operation Rescue, "she has found someone to do that."

McCorvey's conversion was immediately embraced by the antiabortion movement, already buoyed with a string of recent congressional victories limiting abortions. She was praised as a hero by National Right to Life, Operation Rescue and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Secretariat for Pro-Life Activities.

Benham was unavailable for comment because he was holding a news conference in Dallas. McCorvey did not respond to messages left with her roommate.

McCorvey told ABC that her new friends in the antiabortion movement "accept me for who I am, not what I've done or what I can do for them. They genuinely love me."

Based on their interpretation of Scripture, this wing of the antiabortion movement clearly condemns homosexual behavior. Yet for 21 years McCorvey has been in a lesbian relationship with her roommate, Connie Gonzalez, and has not indicated she intends to renounce that part of her past.

"All I know," Gonzalez said last week in a terse telephone interview, "is that Norma has become a Christian."

## Jail Inmate Revived for Execution

Serge F. Kovaleski

WHEN Oklahoma state prison officials found death row inmate Robert Brecheen suffering from an overdose of sedatives in his cell, they rushed him to a hospital and had his stomach pumped. Then they carried out his scheduled execution.

After regaining consciousness, Brecheen was whisked back to the State Penitentiary in McAlester in the eastern part of the state, strapped to a gurney and put to death by lethal injection. The execution occurred about two hours late, at 1:55 a.m. on Friday last week.

"I suppose there is an irony in this," said Jim Rabon, spokesman for the Oklahoma Department of Corrections. "We have a responsibility for the health and welfare of our inmates, but we also have a responsibility to uphold the law."

Under state law, Rabon said, once an execution date has been set by the courts, prison officials have 24 hours to carry it out.

Corrections officials said the reason they had to revive Brecheen before executing him was a 1986 U.S. Supreme Court ruling. The decision stipulates that the condemned "has to be aware of his execution and he has to know why he is being executed," said Sandy Howard, an assistant Oklahoma attorney general.

Rabon said the Corrections Department had not yet determined how an inmate on death row was able to obtain enough sedatives to overdose or whether the 40-year-old killer was trying to commit suicide or delay his scheduled midnight execution.

At 7:45 p.m. on Thursday last week, Brecheen lay down to take a nap in his cell. Around 9 p.m., prison guards tried to wake him so he could take a shower, but he did not respond. He was breathing heavily, his pupils were dilated and he drifted in and out of consciousness on the way to the hospital, but he was in no danger of dying then, officials said.

Inside the prison, Hilton Stubbs, the husband of a woman Brecheen murdered in 1983 after being rejected for a \$400 loan, waited patiently for the execution. "It wasn't his job to take his life," the Associated Press quoted Hilton Stubbs, 71, as saying.

Brecheen was brought back to the penitentiary at 1:20 a.m., Rabon said. Guards said that in his final statement, which was inaudible because of problems with a microphone, Brecheen made no mention of the overdose.

Authorities said they will question the two defense attorneys and prison guards who came in contact with Brecheen after he was strip-searched and moved to a cell next to the execution chamber. Corrections sources said they believe Brecheen got the drugs from other inmates and concealed them in his mouth or rectum during the strip-search.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
August 20 1995

## Welcome to the State of Paranoia

Liz Spayd looks at why America wallows in Waco and Whitewater

WHAT SHOULD be made of the fact that more than half of all Americans think flying saucers are real? That 49 percent of the public thinks the CIA was involved in the assassination of President Kennedy? Or that 9 percent of the public suspects, despite considerable evidence to the contrary, that the 1969 moon landing was a massive hoax?

Perhaps these are merely random manifestations of the natural human impulse to indulge in the incredible. But more likely, they are evidence of a less benign American compulsion: our willingness to believe in things we cannot prove and to dismiss the establishment wisdom as propaganda designed to fool an unsuspecting public. We have turned suspicious, incredulous, eager to turn the capriciousness of life into something more sinister.

When disaster strikes, we look for a government plot. And to no one's surprise, we always find one.

A woman who lost two of her children in the Oklahoma bombing wonders before a CNN news camera whether the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms was a conspirator in the deadly explosion.

A White House correspondent, Sara McClellan, tells listeners to a national radio show that there are death squads operating within the Justice Department. A team of lawyers defending O.J. Simpson builds an entire case by suggesting, without substantiation, that their client was the victim of a covert police operation involving fabricated evidence and subversive behavior.

Now, the conspiratorial moment has come again for those who obsess on Waco. And no matter what ultimately comes of the congressional hearings, smart money is betting that plenty of people will find in the proceedings further proof of a government campaign to abolish individual rights and commander the guns of innocent citizens.

It could be dismissed as bothersome twaddle if these views were confined to extremists of the right and left. That they have now infected the mainstream of American thought should be reason to worry: The age of distrust is upon us.

As those who measure public opinion find plainly evident, the majority of people no longer have confidence in the government, in science, in our nation's schools, our cops, our courts, our charities or our journalists.

According to polling data of the

National Opinion Research Center in Chicago, faith in both Congress and the executive branch is hovering at a 20-year low. Only 12 percent of the public say they have a great deal of confidence in the executive branch, and slightly less than 8 percent characterize their confidence in Congress as substantial.

Trust in other institutions is also on a gradually descending slope: Expressed support for science, medicine, organized religion, labor and education are all near their low point since researchers began their biennial surveys in the mid-1970s. Earlier Lou Harris polls patterned on similar questions suggest the decline may have begun in the 1960s.

"This is one of most dramatic developments in public opinion in the post-World War II era," says Darrell West, a professor of political science at Brown University. "There is a deep-seated distrust, not just of government but of all kinds of institutions that people once had great confidence in."

The sixties offered many opportunities for the controlling ethos to take root: the dark days of John F. Kennedy's assassination, the Watergate break-in, the disillusionment over Vietnam. For today's disenfranchised, there is ample evidence of government corruption in the Iran-contra affair of the Reagan administration or, more recently, in the Clintons' follies over Whitewater.

What is discouraging is that most Americans console themselves by seeing in these cases proof that even more sinister evils have yet to be uncovered.

But in their conspiratorial delight, they have overlooked the larger truth: Virtually all of these scandals were exposed by talkative snitches within the system, or through the work of aggressive reporters and prosecutors, or after government hearings into the alleged misdeeds.

In other words, the system works. And it works, ironically, because it is founded on the very principle of rational skepticism, with its built-in checks and balances that allow each branch of government to keep an eye on the others. Trust is essential, but it must be held in check by a healthy skepticism.

Even our occasionally insightful House speaker seems to agree: "You can't trust anybody with power," Newt Gingrich told one of his young questioners on MTV recently. "If you loan power to somebody, watch 'em."

Indeed we do. Through this system, we get hearings like those on the Waco siege. While the GOP's more dubious motive is no doubt to thrash the White House for political gain, the valuable side effect of



ILLUSTRATION: BRIAN CRONIN

these hearings is a chance to bring government wrongdoing to light so that past mistakes won't be repeated and so that the responsible parties might actually be punished.

Granted, there is no guarantee of official retribution — after all, no US official spent time in jail as a result of Iran-contra but most suffered a considerable political penalty for their involvement.

It might be more seductive to see in Waco or Whitewater or even Watergate evidence of a government plotting to snuff out their enemies or annihilate the masses. But the truth, more than likely, is far more mundane: that a few conniving bureaucrats or self-serving politicians let poor judgment get the best of them.

Why, then, is the public so easily enticed down the conspiratorial path? Partly, the mood has been cast by uncertain political and economic times, by high expectations colliding with the reality of declining real wages.

Worsening matters is the fact that many of the institutions we came to depend on have ended up betraying us. Corporations no longer deliver lifetime employment. Charities abscond with our money. Marriages fall apart. And our government does little good in trying to tackle what many people see as our mounting social problems.

At the same time, our world has grown more vast and more complex than most of us find comfortable. Everything is big and elaborate and composed of interconnected parts. Our office typewriter has been replaced by computers that transmit

data through some space we cannot see. Our family doctor has been usurped by a bewildering network of medical providers whose elaborate billing system we don't understand.

Our money is now dispensed by a machine and our paycheck never comes but seems to appear magically in our bank account . . . Or does it? Just who are all these people, anyway? And how does all this get done? And who is behind all this? As the world gets larger, we get smaller. The institutions become faceless and we become suspicious. And the further people are from the levers of power, the more impoverished, the more likely they are to subscribe to the conspiratorial view.

"Trust?" asks Vanderbilt University philosophy professor John Lachs. "How can you trust in things you cannot see? What we're left with is a fundamental sense that we're not in control of our lives, that we're impotent."

THUS IS created a lush bed for paranoia to seed. It becomes easy, even logical, to imagine that somewhere in that unintelligible void is the opportunity for wickedness to lurk. And when something horrendous or seemingly inexplicable occurs — a famous football hero is accused of murder, innocent children are blown up by a fertilizer bomb — it becomes more comforting to believe that such events result from a carefully designed plot and not the reckless acts of a lone individual. If such events are random, they could happen too easily again, in your city. To you.

People also see a world where

getting anything really big accomplished requires an organization, a plan. And so they apply the same reasoning to acts of maleficence or disaster. And once people have engaged their conspiratorial fantasies, the more difficult, if not impossible, it becomes to prove them wrong. Nothing is random anymore. Everything is part of a menacing plan.

The politics of conspiracy are powerful indeed, and its effects adroitly manipulated. The Nation of Islam has helped convince thousands of blacks that the white government may have planted AIDS in their community as a form of genocide. Twenty-five percent of blacks believe the government ensures narcotics are easily available to poor black neighborhoods, a New York Times-CBS poll found. The NRA taps the conspiracy vein to convince people that their guns might be taken in a violent raid by jackbooted government thugs. Citizen militias insist that United Nations troops are circling around in black helicopters that they intend to use in a mass coup.

For the GOP, stoking conspiracy and distrust — of crime, of welfare freeloaders, of racial preferences — has become an indispensable tool in the marketing of public policy.

As the Republicans have discovered, it is easier to get people to look warily on the government than to believe in it. In an era when the federal budget has reached \$1.6 trillion, finding examples of stupidity and corruption becomes a remarkably simple task.

It's also an excellent way to sell newspapers, or nightly "news magazine" shows or movies, the producers of which have discovered that the peddling of conspiracy is as lucrative as it is seductive. From Oliver Stone's box-office hit JFK to Fox Television's wildly popular The X-Files, the appetite for conspiracy seems insatiable. And easily malfeasable by a media that has changed dramatically in recent years.

"It used to be that the prestige press and three major networks could dictate what got covered," said Brown University's West. "Today, those outlets have to a large degree lost their agenda-setting ability. People are as likely to define journalism as the National Enquirer or Hard Copy as much as they are some prestigious newspaper."

Unfortunately, that leaves the public — already over-anxious and alienated — with a distorted view of reality. No one wants to hear it, but life probably isn't as interesting as some would have us believe. My guess? For every drug-running, document-shredding, would-be assassin in the government, there are probably a thousand inept bureaucrats, one of whose blunders is about to get twisted into America's next big conspiracy.

## The Arithmetic of Atrocity In Former Yugoslavia

COMMENT  
Stephen S. Rosenfeld

ALL ALONG in the former Yugoslavia, American opinion and policy have rested on a rough arithmetic of atrocity. Favor has been extended or withdrawn according to prevailing notions of the criminal misdeeds inflicted or suffered by each party. Until now the Muslims have been the most favored by this measure, in rhetoric anyway, for their victimization; the Serbs the least favored, for their sins against other former Yugoslavs, with the Croats floating somewhere indistinctly in the middle.

Sentiment is not the most solid basis for policy. It's subjective and emotional and invites inconstancy. In this instance, its role swelled in the absence of a consensus on the

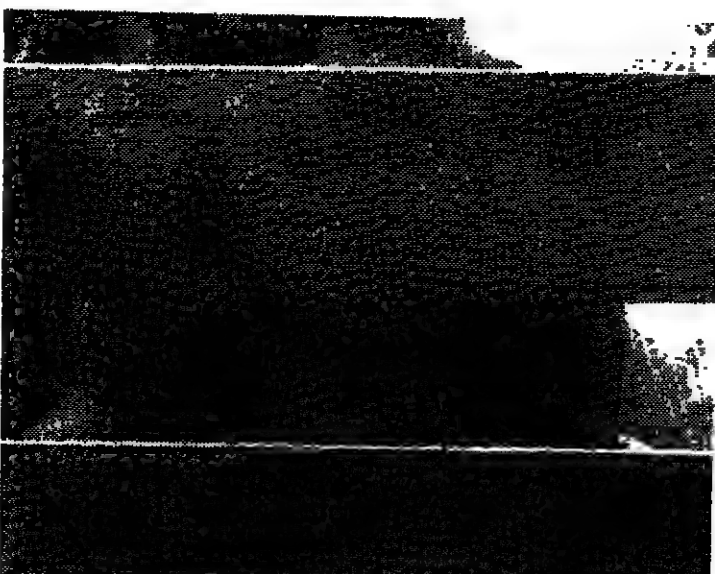
sudden recalculation of the arithmetic of atrocity. Its lightning offensive to liberate Krajina from the Serbs has identified Croatia as a big-time offender ranking right up there with Serbia.

Not that Croatia hadn't already abundantly merited this status. From 1991 it drove more than 350,000 Serbs from their homes. Just last May, it expelled 15,000 Serbs from western Slavonia, like Krajina, a Serb-populated territory that had been part of Croatia. With that history, it is not exactly a surprise that it has recently seen to the panicked flight of perhaps 150,000 Serbs (almost all of them) from Krajina, a part of modern Croatia that Serbs had grabbed in 1991 but where Serbs have lived for 500 years.

Serbs have a broad reputation — and they have earned it — for a cruel, murderous dehumanized policy; most recently, Bosnian Serbs now stand accused of mass murder in Srebrenica last month. Croatia deserves such a broad reputation but does not fully have it, at least not yet.

We of the press bear a share of the responsibility for allowing the Croats to avoid the Serbs' high-profile image as massive perpetrators of "ethnic cleansing" and attendant offenses. In one crucial sense, the Croats have gone even further. They have not made rape an instrument of national policy in the Serb style, but they are creating in Krajina a racist, ethnically pure Croatian land, rough and repressive as Serbia is, it is still multi-ethnic.

The American government bears its own share of responsibility for making light of Croatia's crimes. It has done so by way of enlisting Croatia as a strategic counterweight



Site unseen . . . A Krajina Serb child in a trailer on the refugee road from Croatia to Belgrade

to the Serbs. This effort began last year with American diplomacy tucking Croatia into a "confederation" with the unfortunate Bosnians, and now deepens. Germany bears an even larger share of the blame, I believe, for its incautious embrace of a nation (Catholic Croatia) in conflict with a country of a different tradition (Orthodox Serbia).

Since Croatia's offensive and the expulsion of the Krajina Serbs, Serbia has redoubled its longtime insistence that it should be treated not as an aggressor but as a victim state and people. But, of course, Serbia — by its own deceptions in and after the breakup of Yugoslavia and by the offenses of the Krajina and Bosnian Serb clients it then created — long ago exhausted its claim on the West's tolerance and understanding.

The Serbs may not have gotten the sympathy they deserved for crimes inflicted on them. But they have gotten the obloquy they deserved for crimes they committed on others. There is some unfairness

in how they have been treated, and some fairness. They have a role as defendants in any war-crimes trials to come, and a role as plaintiffs too. They have created refugees and become refugees at the same time.

From this awful tangle of sinned and sinned against, I draw the conclusion that we should be wary of shaping our policy by an artificially simple moralistic standard. Such an effort produces dishonesty and confusion and leads away from the necessary clear view that the main enemy is not one party or another — they are all to be painted in dark colors — but the continuance of the war.

The latest Croatian surge ought to be regarded less as a contribution to a new balance of power that will permit a new negotiation, although perhaps it can be used as that, than as a contribution to a shedding of illusions that the equities can ever be fairly found and applied. This is not a battle of good and evil but a tribal struggle, a savage one that is not yet over.

## Shoppers Cross the Dollar Divide

Anne Swardson in Toronto

MONEY always has had the power to move people, but rarely is that power as visible as at the dividing line between the United States and Canada.

Five years ago, when the Canadian dollar was strong and the American dollar was weak, Canadians — most of whom live within 160 km of the U.S. border — poured over bridges, through tunnels and past checkpoints into Buffalo, Detroit, Seattle and other border cities to shop. They bought blue jeans to VCRs to

Canadian beer, tucking it in their cars and hoping they could sneak their booty past the border without paying duties.

Now, the value of the Canadian dollar has fallen by more than 17 percent and traffic is going the other way. Canadians are staying home to enjoy shopping bargains, and American tourists and one-day shoppers are tripping across the border to spend money.

The best measure of cross-border shopping is the number of one-day trips. In May 1991, 4.9 million Canadians crossed

the border and returned, presumably loaded with goods. By May 1995, that figure fell to 3 million. American trips rose from 1.6 million in May 1991 to 1.9 million in May 1995.

Generally, citizens of each nation can travel freely to the other. Car traffic must pass through border crossings, but travelers normally get little scrutiny from immigration or customs inspectors. Both nations impose duties on goods bought across the border above a certain amount; although a free-trade pact is in effect, it is not fully phased in.

At the Dbdle Value Mall outside Toronto, Americans are coming in by the tour-bus load. One of Canada's few discount centers, the 120-store mall has seen a clear increase in U.S. custom.

The losers in the cross-border competition are dozens of malls built recently along the U.S. side of the border, in part to attract Canadian shoppers.

At the Walden Galleria Mall in Cheektowaga, a Buffalo suburb, the proportion of Canadian shoppers is down from 20 percent at its peak to perhaps 14 percent, said manager John Percy. However, he said, total sales have risen because of strenuous efforts to promote it

among Buffalo residents. Therein, he and others suggested, lies a key distinction between the Canadian and American retail scenes.

When the exchange rate favored Canadian shoppers coming to the United States, Percy said, "We found every newspaper and radio station in Canada we could to promote our mall."

Now that dollar values push people the other way, Percy said, he sees little advertising by Canadian shopping outlets in Buffalo newspapers.

Retail analyst Winter said: "Canadians are not as aggressively commercial as the American culture."



# Bible Babble

Bill Broadway

THE ASHES OF WACO  
An Investigation  
By Dick J. Reavis  
Simon & Schuster. 320pp. \$24

WHY WACO?  
Cults and the Battle for  
Religious Freedom in America  
By James D. Tabor and  
Eugene V. Gallagher  
University of California Press.  
255pp. \$24.95

DAVID KORESH liked The Lawnmower Man so much that he showed the 1992 film to his Branch Davidian followers as an analogy to his own spiritual ascendancy. Based on a short story by Stephen King, the techno-thriller tells of a retarded churchyardman named Jobe who blossoms into a megagenius under the tutelage of a Dr. Angelo Angelo, who, in search of the perfect human, uses virtual reality computers and mind-altering drugs to boost Jobe's brain power. But the experiments get out of hand.

"I saw God. I touched God," exults the yardman, who then announces that his next step is to "become pure energy" and "project myself into the mainframe computer." From there he will invade the world's circuitry and "by the year 2001 there won't be a person who isn't hooked into it and hooked into me." Angelo tries to stop this apparent madness by setting time bombs around the laboratory as Jobe disappears into the computer. The ensuing blast engulf the vast laboratory in flames and Angelo barely escapes.

Dick J. Reavis recounts Koresh's private screening in his book *The Ashes of Waco: An Investigation*, a quasi-exposé of the government's role in the 51-day siege that ended in fire on April 19, 1993. A former Dallas Observer reporter and Texas Monthly editor, Reavis earned his place as the opening panelist at the House hearings on Waco, with two years of research into the government's role in the tragedy. A later



panelist, James D. Tabor of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, was one of two theologians to get close to Koresh during the siege and is co-author of *Why Waco? Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America*.

According to Reavis, whose book was rushed into print to coincide with the hearings, surviving Davidians who were present at the screening of the film (he gives no date) said that Koresh saw Jobe's intellectual progression as an allegory of his spiritual awakening. This revelation event occurred in 1985 at Mt. Zion in Israel, where Koresh believed a Christlike angel would lend 144,000 pure believers to victory over evil at the End Time. In his vision, Koresh, then known as Vernon Howell, met seven angelic beings and rode with them on a celestial flying saucer past the constellation Orion to the City of God. In his interpretation of the film, Koresh is Jobe, the lab is the spiritual transporter (Merkabah) and God is the central computer.

Reavis recalls the incident not to make fun of Koresh but to underscore the different planes of thought on which FBI negotiators and Koresh and right-hand man Steve Schneider were working. Like Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher, co-authors of *Why Waco?*, Reavis be-

lieves that the deaths of more than 80 people could have been averted if the federal government had sought—and heeded—the advice of religious experts on apocalyptic thinking and behavior.

But there's far more to Reavis's narrative, a loosely woven—and often loosely documented—account of events from February 28, 1983, through the trial of 11 Branch Davidians a year later. Thousands of details, many quirky and insightful, others ridiculous ("she was still shapely at 46, despite having given birth to seven children"), portray life inside the compound and offer a Davidian's perspective of the attacks by federal agents. Others, from autopsy reports and court records, suggest strongly the government's culpability.

According to Reavis's book, military helicopters, which should not have been involved in the first place, did fire on the compound in the first attack on Mt. Carmel, killing three Davidians; agents tampered with bodies in an effort to reduce the number of deaths for which they were responsible; and during the fatal April 19 assault, they deliberately destroyed the right side of the double front door, which had bullet holes that would have proved ATF agents shot first in February.

While Reavis seeks to unveil the

government's alleged stupidity and duplicity in the Waco episode, Tabor and Gallagher blame the "anticultists" and "cultbusters" who have created an environment of fear about unorthodox religious groups that threatens religious freedom in America.

It's common for disaffected members of religious groups to alert authorities to their former colleagues' "improprieties," the authors point out, and ex-Davidians played the role of investigative catalysts superbly in this case. Consciously or not, former members hit on the "negative cult stereotypes" that proved to be incredibly effective: that Koresh forced people into submission, that he was beating and sexually abusing children, that he was a madman obsessed with guns, that the sanitary conditions were horrible. The local police authorities, then the Treasury Department, then the media, and finally the Justice Department and Attorney General Janet Reno all bought into the stereotypes, the authors charge.

All of these used "cult" to describe the group—with all the Charles Manson overtones the word implies—although it has been shown that the children in Mt. Carmel were loved and well cared for, the charges of a drug lab and drug use raised by authorities were

unsubstantiated, and most important to the authors, several members who had rejected Koresh's claims on scriptural interpretation had been allowed to leave freely.

If Koresh was anything, according to Tabor and Gallagher, he was confused. Things were not happening the way he had expected due to, from his interpretations of biblical texts, Koresh was not stalling in the FBI charged, but waiting for a new sign from God. They say a surrender could have been negotiated.

In their evenhandedness and perhaps their zeal to allow Koresh's respectability, the authors downplay the weirdness of Koresh's vision—what Koresh himself called "the bizarritty of my presence." They say nothing of Koresh's belief that he had "God's genes" and that his children could not leave Mt. Carmel because he wanted to make sure his "no one will get my DNA."

Beginning on March 7, Tabor and his friend Philip Arnold, director of a religious studies institute in Houston who testified at the hearings, communicated with Koresh through audiotapes and radio broadcasts, offering their own interpretations of Revelation. Koreh may not have agreed with this analysis, but he appreciated their effort to talk about theology, what he saw as a matter of "life and death."

On April 14, after writing that he had received his long-awaited "word from God," Koreh said he would come out once he had completed a written interpretation of the seven seals. He requested that his message be given to Tabor and Arnold, who would disseminate it to other scholars and theologians.

"Unfortunately these attempts came too late," the authors say rhetorically. When the tanks began running the buildings and setting a volatile form of tear gas was used, Koreh was still working on seal number two. What he did complete was a "substantial piece of work," the scholars state. It has been published for the first time in *Why Waco?*, followed by Tabor and Arnold's commentary on Koreh's comments.

The major irony of Waco surely must be this: that what Koreh wanted all along—for the world to hear his biblical interpretations (what federal agents called "Bible babble")—is being fulfilled through these two books and other works that are sure to follow.

period in 1955, when one day simply seems to follow another in the long waiting period of growing up, a great deal happens. Molly's mother miscarries the baby she hasn't told Molly she was carrying. The neighbor bears a Downs syndrome baby. Molly discovers that the girl across the street is being abused by her brother and that her own grandfather committed suicide. A python escapes from the zoo. Her father has a near-fatal accident. She turns 12. A dreaded piano recital becomes a triumph.

The same things happen in the fifties that happen today, most of it behind closed doors. Parents didn't explain their thoughts and behavior to children. Before Oprahvision, most children, like Molly, got their worldly knowledge from books and other children. They overheard adult whispers, deciphered clenched lips and quick glances, felt racial tensions. Sin and sex were in the air.

After God and Jesus fall her, Molly switches her allegiance to the Holy Ghost, who rides her room of snakes and sends her a piano. "The Holy Ghost didn't promise

## Christian Aid

"CHURCHES IN ACTION WITH THE WORLD'S POOR"

Christian Aid is a development agency working to strengthen the poor in 60 countries worldwide. We work with the poor through their own local organisations and through advocacy in Europe.

### FIELD OFFICER Kivu, Zaire

to offer support to partner churches and organisations meeting the need of the Zaire people as they host refugee communities in the region. With the help of a local assistant, you will recommend funding, appraise and evaluate relief, rehabilitation and development projects. You will also liaise with other NGOs in the area and monitor the socio-political developments of the region.

You will be motivated and adaptable with proven development experience and knowledge of NGOs. With fluency in French, you will have already worked in the developing world and have management experience.

This is a one year contract based in Bukavu, South Kivu. Basic accommodation and regular rest and recuperation breaks will be provided.

Closing date: 15 September Interview date: 25 September Salary: £15,862 pa

For further details and an application form, please contact Personal Department, Christian Aid, PO Box 100, London SE1 7RT, England Tel: 0171-620-4444 Fax: 0171-620-0719 WE ARE AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES EMPLOYER

### PEACE BRIGADES INTERNATIONAL SRI LANKA PROJECT

Project Coordinator

Lead up and run office supporting a team of volunteers working with local human rights and social justice activists in Sri Lanka.

Salary: US\$ 19,000/year

Knowledge of PBI/Sri Lanka essential

Contact: PBI SLPO

32 Clare Rd, Hildesheim, UK

Tel/Fax: 44 (0) 1423 351701

Email: philip@pbi.org.uk

Closing date: September 1995

Fully qualified Turkish Chef

required for Turkish

restaurant. Apply in writing to:

Rahim's Kebap House,

54 Kora Street, Portsmouth,

Co. Antrim,

Northern Ireland or

Tel: +44 (0) 1263 832336.

Advertisements

It is a condition of acceptance

of advertisement orders that the

proprietors of The Guardian

Weekly do not guarantee the

insertion of any particular

advertisement on a specified

date, or at all, although every

effort will be made to meet the

wishes of advertisers; further

they do not accept liability for

any loss or damage caused by

an error or inaccuracy in the

printing or non-appearance of

any advertisement. They also

reserve the right to classify

certainly any advertisement,

and/or delete any objectionable

wording or reject any

advertisement.

Although every advertisement is

carefully checked, occasionally

mistakes do occur. We

therefore ask advertisers to

assist us by checking their

advertisements carefully and

advise us immediately should

an error occur. We regret that

we cannot accept responsibility

for more than ONE

INCORRECT insertion and that

no republication will be granted

in the case of typographical or

minor changes which do not

affect the value of the

advertisement.

The Guardian

Weekly

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
August 20 1995

**HOSTA**  
HOTEL & TOURISM SCHOOL  
SWITZERLAND

**Hotel Diploma Programme**  
• 1st year: Hotel Operations • 2nd year: Hotel Management

**Travel and Tourism Programme**  
• 1st year: Travel and Tourism Operations  
(incl. official IATA/UITAA Travel Agent's diploma courses)  
• 2nd year: Travel and Tourism Management

For information please contact:  
HOSTA, 1854 TG LEYSIN, SWITZERLAND  
Tel: +41 25 342611, Fax: +41 25 341821

**Executive Director INCLEN**

The International Clinical Epidemiology Network (INCLEN) is seeking an Executive Director. INCLEN is a worldwide organization dedicated to improving the health of people everywhere by promoting clinical practice based on the best available evidence of effectiveness and the efficient use of resources. The organization currently operates in 16 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe and North America.

The Executive Director provides leadership in the ongoing development of the program, has management responsibility of the Executive Office in Philadelphia, is an active fundraiser and spokesperson for INCLEN, and coordinates the worldwide network.

Candidates should be a physician or have worked in clinical settings. They should have experience in working in developing countries and multi-cultural environments, in the management of complex organizations, as well as a demonstrated ability to raise funds. The Executive Director travels extensively throughout the network.

Applications or nominations should be sent to:  
Executive Search Committee  
INCLEN, Inc.  
3800 Market Street, Suite 300  
Philadelphia, PA 19104-2944, USA  
FAX 215-252-7741 E-MAIL: INCLEN@mccl.com

**UNIVERSITY OF BATH**  
School of Social Sciences

**LECTURESHIP IN SOCIAL POLICY**

The University wishes to appoint a Lecturer in Social Policy having an expertise in health-related issues including social care. Candidates should have appropriate research experience as well as commitment to excellence in teaching. Social Policy at Bath received top grades in both research and teaching from the most recent HEFCE reviews.

Informal enquiries may be made to either Professor Graham Room (01225 826090) or Professor Jane Millar (01225 826141).

Salary: Lecturer Grade A £15,154 - £19,848  
Lecturer Grade B £20,677 - £28,430

The appointment level will depend on qualifications and experience. Further particulars are available from Peter J Hill, Director of Personnel, University of Bath, Claverton Down, Bath BA2 7AY (tel. 01225 826873; fax 01225 826556; p.j.hill@bath.ac.uk), quoting reference 95/171.

Interviews will be held on 21st September 1995. The closing date for applications is 7th September 1995.

**Working towards Equal Opportunities**  
Advancing Learning and Knowledge in Association with Business and Industry

Major Tokyo university seeks  
Professor of Communications  
with background in  
**sociolinguistics,  
psycholinguistics,  
or  
cross-cultural studies.**

Qualifications: MA (minimum),  
near-native fluency in  
Japanese, age under 55.  
Candidate should help  
establish new English  
communications curriculum.  
Letter, resume and up to 5  
publications by Sept. 22, 1995, to:  
Head, English Dept.  
Aoyama Gakuin  
University 4-4-25  
Shibuya Shibuya-ku  
Tokyo 150  
JAPAN.

## odi

Overseas Development Institute

The Overseas Development Institute's Forestry Programme will shortly begin a major new European Commission project to assist the EC in its goal of greater complementarity, collaboration and coherence in the tropical forestry activities of the EC and its member states. We are seeking to recruit two new Research Fellows within the range of Grade II-III (between £21,982-£36,032). Applicants should have post-graduate qualifications in the area of forestry or natural resources and/or have closely related experience, and some experience of interdisciplinary and participatory forestry approaches.

**Project Manager** The project manager will be contributing to a range of project outputs. The successful candidate will have a substantial record in tropical forestry, project or team management experience, an interest in forest policy and excellent English and French. We would be happy to consider a secondment from another European organisation.

**Research Fellow** The research post requires experience in tropical forestry, proven writing ability, and a good publications record. The ability to undertake research in both English and French, or another major European language, is essential.

For further particulars please contact Clare Johnson on +44 (0) 171-487 7582 or fax 0171 4877590 or write to ODI, Regent's College, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London NW1 4NS U.K. Closing Date: 22 September 1995.

**WANT TO BECOME A  
WRITER OR JOURNALIST?**

Home-study courses in journalism, creative writing and business skills, three and six month tutorial courses in news journalism, evening/afternoon classes in freelance writing. **Free Prospects.**

**LONDON SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM**

GW, 22 Upbrook Mews, Bayswater, London W2 3HG  
Tel: +44 171 706 3790 Fax: +44 171 706 3780

**MATEFLA & DIP.TEFL**

MA TEFLA by Distance Learning (Mediolan, est. by Charter)  
Exemptions for Dip. TEFL/TEFL  
Dip. TEFL a ESP (Business Purposes) (ILC)  
(Only Business English Diplomas available by Distance Learning)  
Tutor, Courses, Other Services  
Registration & Prospectus via registrars:  
**INTERNATIONAL LEARNING CENTRES**  
12 Rutland Sq., Edinburgh EH1 2JB, UK  
Tel/Fax: 01259 770440 (UK) E-mail: 100665506@compuserve.com

## DEVELOPING OXFAM AS A LEADING INTERNATIONAL CHARITY

# MAXIMISING OUR PRINCIPAL RESOURCE

### - OUR PEOPLE

Oxfam is undergoing a period of change. This is about developing the culture of the organisation to reflect Oxfam's values in the way in which it works and the way in which it manages its principal resource - its people.

### DIRECTOR OF CORPORATE HUMAN RESOURCES

Raising the profile of HR within Oxfam at a time of expansion and growth, the Director of Corporate Human Resources will have the challenging role of developing and implementing effective HR and Organisation Development Strategies.

You will bring your skills of influencing and negotiating at a senior level to effect organisational change, building on a range of current initiatives.

You will be able to make a difference in the areas of diversity, multiculturalism, employee relations and the development of our people.

With excellent communication skills, business sense and experience of leading best practice in HR you will be looking for a role where you can make an impact on an organisation's contribution to the alleviation of poverty.

The post offers a salary commensurate with the importance Oxfam places on its people management together with assistance on relocation.

For further details and application form please write to David Bryer, Director, Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 7DZ. Closing date: 1st September 1995.

We actively encourage applicants from suitably skilled women, people from ethnic minorities, and people who perceive themselves to be disabled. This is to address an under-representation at this level.

Oxfam works with poor people in their struggle against hunger, disease, discrimination and poverty in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East through relief, development, research and public education. Oxfam UK is proud to be an equal opportunities employer.

**OXFAM**  
Working for a Fairer World

## Seeking Salvation in Fifties Memphis

Gabrielle Burton

MOLLY FLANAGAN AND THE  
HOLY GHOST  
By Margaret Skinner  
Algonquin. 242pp. \$17.95

**TWELVE-YEAR-OLD** Molly Flanagan has a wandering eye, but you'd never call it lazy. Behind her blue-framed glasses, her vision works overtime: Single objects double, and incompatible people superimpose like a double exposure. Molly's peculiar sight mirrors her vision of the world where everything seems to have at least two warring sides.

Molly's tight-lipped, austere mother, Elizabeth, converted to Catholicism to marry her inquisitive Irish father, Jim Flanagan, but their remains a mixed marriage. Fifteen-year-old brother Nat, thought perfect by all, curses constantly. Molly's maternal grandmother, Willie, a Methodist turned Evangelical Baptist, and her

Catholic godmother, Byrd, relentlessly vie for her soul.

Born on Sunday, Molly is dogged all week long by religion. The Flanagan's maid, Lena, an African Methodist Episcopalian, doesn't talk Bible much, just draws herself and Molly: On butcher paper, in murals covering the walls of her tiny home, Lena and Molly lead donkeys to wells, feed camels, swab Noah's deck.

Margaret Skinner's second novel is set in Memphis in the Eisenhower fifties, when everybody believes in the melting pot and everybody knows their place. There are Catholics and non-Catholics, Negroes sit in the back of the bus. "There was some rule about this," Molly vaguely registers. Molly's mother has a "normal" mistrust of Italians but makes an exception for Molly's friend Charlotte. People eat their own kind of food and take their religious prescriptions seriously. For a Catholic to attend another's church is a mortal sin, your eternal

soul at stake, especially when the devil entices you to attend the Baptist service is cunningly disguised as your own formidable grandmother.

Molly's "Baptist eye and her Catholic eye often go separate ways," as Willie and Byrd deluge her with dogma at the Saturday piano lessons and ritual overnight visits. Bible stories versus nuns' purity tales. "The Old Rugged Cross" versus "Ave Maria." While King James bibles versus black Douay Rheims. "Catholics said the same shapeless prayer over and over again, even when certain dinners deserved greater thanks. Protestants invented new ways of saying grace over each and every meal no matter what was served."

Before television, people sat on their front porches and studied their neighbors anthropologically. Molly, with her superior peripheral vision, sees them all when they aren't looking but never lets on. In a six-month

period in 1955, when one day simply seems to follow another in the long waiting period of growing up, a great deal happens. Molly's mother miscarries the baby she hasn't told Molly she was carrying. The neighbor bears a Downs syndrome baby. Molly discovers that the girl across the street is being abused by her brother and that her own grandfather committed suicide. A python escapes from the zoo. Her father has a near-fatal accident. She turns 12. A dreaded piano recital becomes a triumph.

The same things happen in the fifties that happen today, most of it behind closed doors. Parents didn't explain their thoughts and behavior to children. Before Oprahvision, most children, like Molly, got their worldly knowledge from books and other children. They overheard adult whispers, deciphered clenched lips and quick glances, felt racial tensions. Sin and sex were in the air.

After God and Jesus fall her, Molly switches her allegiance to the Holy Ghost, who rides her room of snakes and sends her a piano. "The Holy Ghost didn't promise

happiness... Instead [it] was there inside you opening up small windows so you could understand what was going on... or however much of it you could take in at one time."

A slim book—sometimes a bit too thin, the prose competent but pedestrian—Molly Flanagan and The Holy Ghost might have been expanded or trimmed into a few of a novella. Some characters, especially Molly's mother, are seen as 12-year-olds might see them, but the reader wishes for fuller development. Still, the novel is a valuable period piece, and Skinner holds down the vanished fifties atmosphere when children walked to movies and the neighborhood was their extended family.

An operation eventually corrects Molly's eyes, and ordinary things come into focus. Even though she's still surrounded by mysteries and secrets, you believe that, with her willingness to look at things straight on, the help of the Holy Ghost and her new tortoise-shell glasses, Molly Flanagan will continue to grow in clarity and grace.

Handwritten note: "Molly Flanagan and the Holy Ghost"







## Wetting the appetite

CINEMA  
Derek Malcolm

**H**AD Waterworld been made for \$80 million or so, nobody would have grumbled. But to achieve the astounding figure of around \$200 million with a movie that looks much like a waterborne Mad Max seems like a profligacy record.

The main problem lies, as it does with most large-scale epics, with Peter Rader and David Twohy's workaday screenplay which, though it does try to do more than the script of Mad Max, relapses too frequently into the basics with which we are all too familiar.

This is especially true when it comes to the lines given to Dennis Hopper's villain. Aside from a few minor witticisms, he is generally forced to relapse into the kind of stock villain he's done at least 50 times before. He plays the Deacon, the ruthless head of the Smokers (this film emanates from LA, where such a title betokens mankind's worst enemy). They are bands of marauders who roam Waterworld, where the polar icecaps have melted and the residue of humanity can only dream of a mythical place called Dryland.

On this watery surface travel the Atollers, chugging along on man-made islands. The Mariner (Kevin Costner) is the lone Atoller (Ayatollah?) who is up to everything the Smokers throw at him. But he's discomfited by the sudden appearance of Jeanne Tripplehorn and Tina Majorino, a mother and daughter who make their escape with him from a refueling outpost the Deacon has explosively dispensed with.

Here the film finds what's left of

its heart after the run-tum of the action sequences. The Mariner resents having to deal with this impossible female pair but gradually gets to rather like it.

But, despite these less noisy moments and an underwater grappling that looks like a useful variant for bored married couples, it's the action sequences that count and they are often impressive.

Through all this, both Costner and Tripplehorn maintain the kind of stoic calm that passes for acting under such conditions and in costumes that can't have made it easy to manoeuvre more than a bottom lip.

But Costner is too much of a cold fish as an actor. He's capable enough, and clearly works very hard. But he hasn't the charm and lightness of touch of Mel nor the dominating presence of the Schwarzeneggers and Stallones of this world.

Waterworld, however, is not the disaster everyone expected, even if its failures equal its virtues and sometimes obscure them. The fact that it cost as much as it did is ludicrous. But that's really none of our business.

There are a fair number of intriguing debuts from American directors. The problem comes later when Hollywood picks them up and dusts them down. It clearly hasn't happened yet for David O Russell, writer-director of *Spanking the Monkey*, which is not about masturbation as the title implies but is even more daring. It treats the delicate subject of incest as a kind of whey-faced cultural comedy.

Our hero, if that is what he is, is an embryo medical student who, prevented by his philandering travelling salesman father from taking up an internship, goes bananas back in his

small-town home. There he is instructed by his anxious but fundamentally uncaring father to look after mother, neurotically encased in plaster after a bungled suicide attempt. He has to cook for her, look after the dog and pour her copious healing draughts of vodka.

He also has to wash her and apply lotion to sore thighs, which is where the trouble comes in, especially when mother finds out he's trying to date a local girl but making enough of a mess of it to have her psychiatrist father howling on the doorstep.

If sex is on his mind, it's because he's bored and, besides, the dog interrupts him masturbating in the bathroom by pawing at the door and the girl doesn't like him attempting to have his nasty way with her, pronouncing him gay when he does nothing, and a rapist when he does.

**A**LTOGETHER, things are set up for a spot of incest, which duly occurs. If this sounds suspiciously puerile, you have reckoned without Russell's cleverly depreciative screenplay which suggests that, in a world as askew as this, almost anything might happen to the one potentially sane member of the family. It's a natural progression for this dysfunctional family within a world which scarcely operates much better.

To say the film was not serious, however, would be to misjudge it. But what it is serious about is not the fact of incest itself but the shifting power relationships that bring it about. Luckily, too, Jeremy Davies as the unfortunate Ray, and Albert Watson and Benjamin Hendrickson as his parents are well up to their parts, as is Carla Gallo as his would-be girlfriend. While no one would

suggest that the film reaches huge heights, it has an intelligence and perception that makes what has passed for summer entertainment over the past few weeks look decidedly hollow.

Milcho Manchevski's *Before the Rain* won prizes at Venice last year and also induced some hostility. Manchevski is a Macedonian, and his subject, told in three interlinking stories, is the human mess made by the Balkan war.

The fact that Manchevski works in America and sometimes on music videos means that the film has a transatlantic sheen on it that may render it suspicious to some. But this debut is a European venture and tries very hard for the kind of forceful drama that is at any rate sincere. It also looks wonderful.

The first story has a young Macedonian monk hiding an Albanian girl, unjustly accused of murder, within his monastery, thus endangering his order. The second, set in London, has Katrin Cartledge as the married picture editor of a photo agency drawn into an affair with a cameraman (Rade Serbedzija). And the third has the same cameraman moving back to his village in Macedonia to find his Albanian neighbours are now his enemies, even the woman with whom he was once in love.

Though the central section of the film, which ends with the kind of bloodbath generally more familiar in Hollywood action movies, doesn't work at all, the other two tales, superbly shot and illustrated with Macedonian music that's fascinating in itself, have an undeniable strength.

At least this is a European film about something relevant and impressively mounted in terms that anyone could understand. It is simple, direct and passionate, even if less than weighty. And it could hardly be more relevant right now.

## Promenade to the music of time

CENTENARY PROM  
Edward Greenfield

**A**NYONE who says the Proms are not what they were is a little bit of a liar. The Prom of all — 100 years in the making — has been celebrated with the greatest of style.

At least the choice of orchestra could not have been more apt. The New Queen's Hall Orchestra, Sir Henry's own, lovingly reconstructed the strings using the instruments of 1900, narrow brasses, wooden flutes, French bassoons and gut strings.

With Barry Wordsworth conducting, the sound was a delight. True, Sir Henry might have objected that the strings were a little too much *portamento*, most all in the first encore, Elgar's *Salut d'Amour*, which was enough to make you seethe. Otherwise the ensemble was even mellower in London's Royal Albert Hall than it has been in the more modern halls.

As to the main programme, it started with the two items that opened the very first Prom on August 10, 1895: Wagner's *Rienzi Overture* and the *Prologue to I Pagliacci* by Leoncavallo. If nowadays they hardly have an old-fashioned ring, years, one has to remember that by the standards of 1895 they were both adventurous.

It was as well that after that only fleeting attempts were made to follow the original programme, dotted as it was with long forgotten ballads and solos for cornet and bassoon.

Instead, Sir John Drummond opted to include the first Prom concert — Mendelssohn's in G minor for piano, and the first symphony — Schubert's Unfinished, both from later that first season. The Mendelssohn may have reflected Victorian taste, and in this performance Howard Shelley touched the orchestra not only in his reading, both crisp and poetic, but in playing a 1920 Chappell piano of the kind regularly used at Proms in the early years.

Following modern practice, Barry Wordsworth observed the long exposition repeat in the first movement, and rightly so, for here even more than in the other works, the period instruments gave the work a mellow glow, with contrasts of woodwind timbre gently but clearly underlined.

Donald Maxwell, earlier resident in the Pagliacci Prologue, returned to sing Figaro's *Large factotum* from Rossini's *Barber of Seville*, entering as if in the opera, to wild applause. Thomas's *Mignon Overture* and a suite from Bizet's *Carmen*, also from the first programme, represented the French repertoire, but then at the very end, after the Elgar encore, came a magnificent outburst on the Hungarian March from Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust*, a marvellous rattle-rouser to please everyone both then and now. Some things, thank goodness, never change.

## Virtuoso who passed the acid test

OBITUARY  
Jerry Garcia

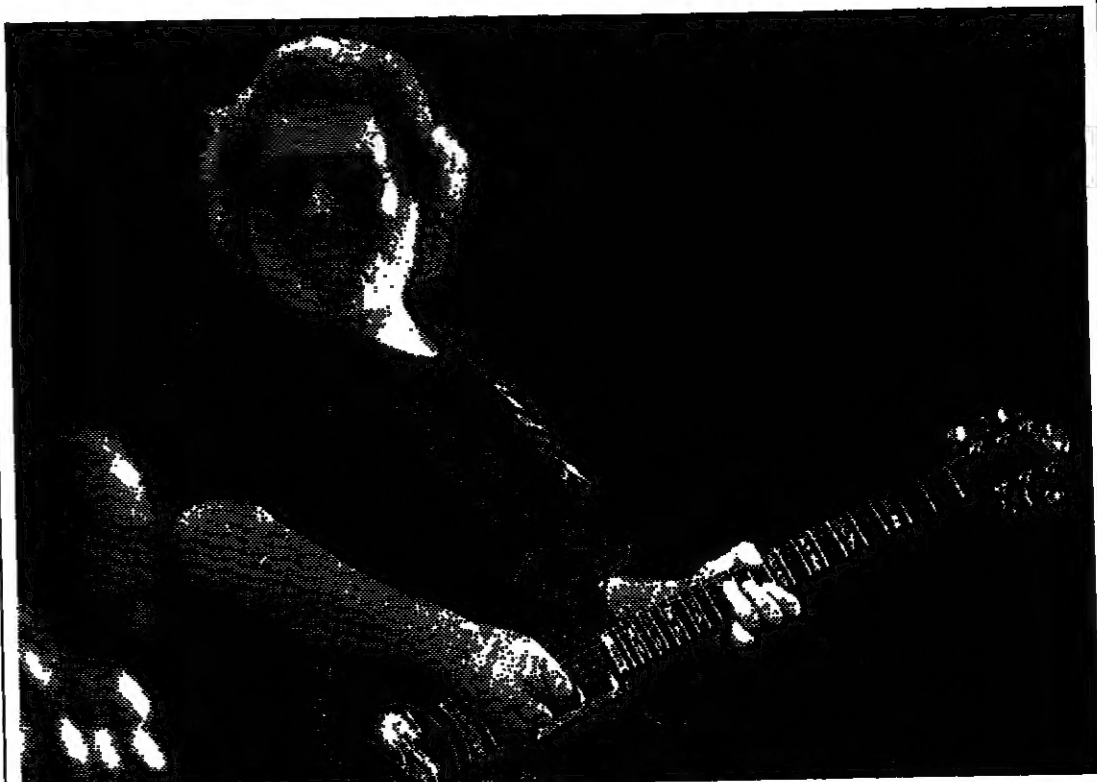
**J**ERRY GARCIA, who has died of a heart attack aged 33, was virtuoso guitarist with the Grateful Dead and an embodiment of the late sixties hippy underground of the American West Coast. His death comes at a time when the group was enjoying probably its greatest period of popularity. Nostalgia was a powerful element in that success, but it was intermingled too with that peculiar and persistent American desire for community and a society beyond pure individualism and materialism.

Garcia was born in San Francisco and started playing guitar at 15. His first interest was folk music, and after dropping out of high school and a brief spell in the army, he formed a duo with Robert Hunter, later to become the Dead's principal lyricist. Early bands with whom he was involved included Mother McCree's Uptown Jug Champions, which brought him into contact with keyboard player Ron "Pigpen" McKernan and guitarist Bob Weir.

This band went electric and evolved in 1965 into the Warlocks with drummer Bill Kreutzmann and bassist Phil Lesh. The Warlocks were closely tied to Ken Kesey's Acid Tests, multi-media events built around the then legal LSD.

Garcia described the impact of the acid tests on his music by saying: "Sometimes we'd get up and play for two hours, three hours, sometimes we'd play for 10 minutes and all break out and split. It wasn't a gig, it was the Acid Test where anything was okay. It was magic, far out magic."

The band acquired a new name.



Far out magic... Jerry Garcia, with the Grateful Dead, in London in 1990

PHOTOGRAPH SEAN SMITH

Opening the Oxford English Dictionary, a stoned Garcia saw two words juxtaposed: "Everything else on the page went blank, diffuse, just sorta oozed away, and there was Grateful Dead, big, black-lettered, edged all around in gold, man, blasting out at me, such a stunning combination."

In June 1966, when they moved into San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, the Dead quickly became — with Jefferson Airplane — the quintessential psychedelic band, providing a soundtrack for the 1967's Summer of Love.

From the very beginning, their sets were an eclectic mix of blues, folk, country, soul and pop music, plus a growing repertoire of original songs, which frequently grew into free-form jams built around Garcia's accomplished guitar playing.

But he was by no means the star. The Dead always believed in collective improvisation, rather than a group of musicians supporting a soloist. This format was maintained through the ensuing decades until their sets became a virtual history of American music reconstructed on an endless, timeless plateau.

It proved, however, almost impossible to transfer on to record. Their strength was always in performance, where the music could sprawl unrestricted for as long as the musicians remained standing. Largely out of the clutches of the record industry, they were able to build up their own touring organisation, usually comprising family and friends, which looked over both band and fans, enabling them to maintain their "outlaw" reputation. This, and their commitment to lengthy annual tours, helped account for their 30-year career.

By the late eighties a new generation of "Deadheads" had emerged. Grateful Dead concerts were communal events where the musicians encouraged listeners to make bootleg recordings of the performance.

Through the years, Garcia developed into an extraordinarily fine, melodic guitarist, steadily building up his improvisation rather than exploding into flashy solos. He was a consummate musician with a total commitment to playing, whenever, wherever, and with whomever.

He always had at least one other band on the go when the Dead were off the road, usually playing gigs in small clubs in San Francisco. He cut several solo albums and played on numerous sessions for other artists.

Presidents, musical fashions, material girls and boys came and went but the Grateful Dead's upward trend continued. During the first half of this year Garcia and the band played 40 concerts in 17 cities and their gross ticket sales of \$29 million was second only to that of The Eagles. So Garcia had not escaped the commercial world, even down to the launch of a Cherry Garcia ice cream.

In recent years there had been increasing signs of health problems. Garcia had an attraction to drugs, and his heroin use led to a community service sentence in 1985 and a near fatal collapse the following year. Heart problems followed in the early nineties.

Yet during the past decade he remained at the peak of his artistic powers, renewing at each concert his peculiar but haunting synthesis of traditional American musics with the psychedelic ideals of the 1960s.

Michael Oldfield  
and Dave Laing

Jerry (Jerome John) Garcia, born San Francisco August 1, 1942; died August 9, 1995

## School for dead wives

THEATRE  
Michael Billington

**L**IKE a manic conjurer, Alan Ayckbourn keeps pulling ever more rabbits out of the hat. And *Communicating Doors*, his 46th play, manages to take us by surprise by being a mixture of pastiche Psycho and time-warped comedy that optimistically suggests that, if only we could foresee the future, we could change it.

Here, Ayckbourn is at his most devilishly ingenious. He sets the action in a London hotel suite in three different periods. We start in 2014 with Poopy, a leather-clad dominatrix, witnessing a confession by a dying crook that he has sanctioned the murder of his two former wives.

Poopy discovers that the suite's communicating doors lead her into a time-war that takes her back to 1994 — the night of the death of wife number two, Ruella. Can Ruella, forewarned by Poopy, avoid being pushed out of the sixth-floor hotel window? And can both women, magicked back to 1974, convince the honeymooning first wife, Jessica, that she risks death by drowning in the Aegean?

Ayckbourn experiments wittily with the theatrical possibilities of time. But he does so to humane purpose. Just as Hamlet talks of that fate which "haply foreknowing may



Dear hunters... Zenobia (Penny Downie) does battle with Roman soldiers

PHOTOGRAPH HENRIETTA BUTLER

avoid", so Ayckbourn argues that we all have the possibility of changing our own destiny.

This makes the piece sound much more solemn than it is. A lot of the pleasure lies in watching Ayckbourn manipulating the conventions of the Priestleyesque time-play and also spoofing the tricks of cinematic Grand Guignol.

As always, he directs his own work with great *flair*. The acting is also impeccable. Julia McKenzie endows Ruella with just the right mix of girl-guide brio and wan ruefulness as she informs us that "No woman in her right mind wants to relive her honeymoon". Adie Allen as the dominatrix suggests that, underneath the leather gear, there is an orphan yearning to be mothered.

The men, of course, are either evil or ineffectual, but Ken Bones plays the killer like a mix of Valen-

tine Dylal and Anthony Perkins, while John Arthur lends the hotel security chief a look of bemused fluster.

Lately, Ayckbourn's plays have not always found favour in the West End. But this one certainly deserves to draw the town. Mind you, it makes you a bit suspicious of hotel bedrooms.

Nick Dear's Zenobia is a very curious play: decently written, extensively researched but lacking any clear, over-arching theme. We see the eponymous heroine become regent of Palmyra in 267AD on the death of her husband, attempt to turn the Syrian desert city into a cultural capital and challenge the decaying Roman empire by conquering Egypt. But she comes up against a hard-headed emperor, Aurelianus, who in 272 puts down her revolt, takes her prisoner and

eventually leads her in triumph through Rome. Dear has an appetite for history, but here, though the story is well told, it is hard to see its contemporary relevance.

Zenobia herself, although superbly played by Penny Downie as a swashbuckling figure in leather chaps, is also hard to anatomise: she emerges as a loveless Cleopatra who is a mixture of civic idealism and brute pragmatism. Oddly, it is the detested Romans who are more dramatically coherent, particularly as represented by Trevor Cooper's four-mouthed, misogynist Aurelianus and Sean O'Callaghan as his faithful tribune who finally gives his emperor a lingering kiss.

It crossed my mind that the play might be a parable about the Gulf war but it never pursues the possible parallels. It fails to translate history into universal metaphor.

## The A to Z of knowledge

TELEVISION  
Nancy Banks-Smith

**H**AVE a vague memory, and I am glad it is not clearer, of being on a Bala jury when *The Knowledge* (C4) was up for an award. I lost. I wouldn't recommend jury service to anyone. The programmes are all right. It's the jurors who are impossible. There was the year Are You Being Served? — a line of dummy legs high kicking in frilly knickers — got very short shrift from a fierce young man, who said it was politically incorrect. Another year I was savaged by Germaine Greer. Look, you can still see the toothmarks, officer, there above the ankle bone.

The quite unforgettable thing about *The Knowledge* was Nigel Hawthorne's performance as Mr Burgess, the cables' examiner, the apothecary of all sadistic schoolmasters ("If any of you wishes to call me Sir, I shall try not to be offended"). The 16 years since it was first shown by Thames offer a new perspective. Here was a respected, 50-year-old character actor, quite suddenly tearing off his whiskers and revealing himself as stardom. The next year Nigel Hawthorne would get his award as Sir Humphrey in *Yes Minister*. And another the next year. And so on *ad infinitum*.

Mr Burgess, known to cables as The Vampire ("Take a crucifix and a pointed stick. You'll be all right") welcomed the new intake with genial smiling jaws. He was also their examiner in the shortest route between any two points on the map: "I'm standing outside Arding and Hobbs and I want to go to the London Fire Brigade HQ... to report a fire... in the bedding department."

Sometimes he looked quite mad. It was a terrifying bobsleigh ride of a performance, gressed with sarcasm. Of all Jack Rosenthal's bunches of male bonders, *The Knowledge* is probably the best. Only three cables will finish the course. One of them will be Titanic, an elderly wreck of a man. His wife has not spoken to him since the honeymoon. She never said why. Once, and only once, I leaped into a taxi and cried: "Follow that car!" Titanic, I am sure it was Titanic, slowly took a small pill and said he had a heart condition.

Talking of knowledge, a civil servant with a moustache won Mastermind (BBC1). Kevin Ashman was on Mastermind 18 years and it was very bad indeed for him. He is now in a sad way. "It's addictive. Pub quizzes, club quizzes, it's become a way of life." He can answer questions about the Zulu war that Magnus Magnusson can't pronounce.

You secretly supported the little chap from Romford who said: "It's like that scene in *Charlies Of Fire* where Nigel Havers says he's running for the honour of Repton, Eton and Caius. I am running for the honour of Scargill Junior, Ascot, Technical High and Devonshire Hall, University of Leeds."

Mr Burgess, known to cables as The Vampire ("Take a crucifix and a pointed stick. You'll be all right") welcomed the new intake with genial smiling jaws. He was also their examiner in the shortest route between any two points on the map: "I'm standing outside Arding and Hobbs and I want to go to the London Fire Brigade HQ... to report a fire... in the bedding department."

Our quite desperate thirst for colour — it might as well have been in black and white — was supplied at last by Patrick Moore. A circular heavenly body in a flowing bow-tie and monocle, he ambled on carrying the tasteful crystal bowl which is all you get. He bounced up and down on his toes with the exuberance of his speech.

Bravo (cable and satellite) cleared the weekend for Lord Grade's cheerful children. He was such a seminal head of ATV that everything was created in his image. Space 1999 with Leo McKern ("I am Gwent from the Planet Zemo!"), Jason King in his hellrope housecoat saving the world from John Le Mesurier as a mad scientist ("The treatment has been successful. He is totally, utterly insane"). The Saint ("My name's Simon. Temporarily, you can call me darling"). The Persuaders with Roger Moore as an English peer righting wrongs in posh places.

All those economical sets and broken accents, claiming firmly to be foreign: "What are you doing in Mexico, señor?" They eked along gallily touching life at no known point. As the Melchian said: "There is no sense to be made of this! No sense at all!" Well I know that but as the entertaining Lord Grade put it, "It was great fun. I've enjoyed it."

Out of this clutch of ducklings there emerged one exquisite, wild, swan. The Prisoner with Patrick McGeehan ("I am not a number! I am a free man!"). They are going to make a film of it. I hope they don't make sense of it.

## The creative course you always dreamed of?

Millions of us dream of studying a creative course at our own leisure. The years pass; the dream just never seems to happen. Sounds familiar?

Now there's no excuse. The Open College of the Arts was formed to fit the needs of people with skills, with brains...above all with aspiration. You perhaps?

You can choose from these courses:  
Drawing • Painting • Garden Design • Textiles  
Creative Writing • Music • Opera • Singing  
Sculpture • Art History • Video Production  
Photography • Interior Design

You study at home in your own time. You receive personal tuition by correspondence or in local groups. You receive first-quality course books and materials. You join 20,000 people who have already benefited from this exciting advance in home learning and personal development.

And best of all, it can cost less than £250.

Phone today on (044) 01226 730495 (24 hours) to check course availability for 1995. Or fax us on (044) 01226 730838. Or just fill in the coupon:

But this time don't let the dream go away. Go for it!

Please send me details of your course.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

Postcode \_\_\_\_\_

Course \_\_\_\_\_

Open College of the Arts  
PO Box 100, Haverhill, Cambridgeshire, Cambridgeshire CB9 7PU, UK.







## Chess Leonard Barden

PETER LEKO is the Hungarian 15-year-old who caused a stir a few months ago by telling an interviewer that he planned to become world champion in 1999. Many chessplayers begin their careers with such rosy dreams, but Leko is fulfilling his ambitions.

He was an international master at 12, then broke the records of Bobby Fischer and Judit Polgar by achieving his grandmaster title at 14. His latest Fide rating is above 2600, the super-GM level which only Fischer previously reached at 15.

Last month's Dortmund invitation was his stiffest test so far. The average rating of the 10 GMs was 2665, which rivalled Riga, Novgorod, Linares and Seville as the strongest tournament of the year. Leko forecast that he would score 50 per cent, a tall order in the company of Karpov, Ivanchuk, Kramnik and Short. In the event, he did better still, scoring 5/9 with only one defeat and sharing third prize with Ivanchuk behind Kramnik (7) and Karpov (6½). His tournament rating was around 2700, superior to Fischer's best results at 15.

Leko has an adaptable game, but what stands out is his very detailed opening knowledge and his liking for defence in depth. This game was his most impressive at Dortmund. The boy's leisurely, almost provocative queen's side regroup between moves 15-24 soaks up White's pressure and prefaces a decisive counter against the white king.

## Evgeny Bareev-Peter Leko, Queen's Indian Defence

1 d4 Nf3 2 c4 e6 3 Nc3 b6 4 Nc3 Bb4 5 Bg5 Bb7 6 e3 h6 7 Bh4 Bxc3+ 8 bxc3 d6 9 Nd2 g5 10 Bg3 Qe7 11 h4 Rg8 12 Rh2 Nc6 13 Bd3 0-0-0 14 Qe2 In this well-known system, White often tries to storm the BK's position by c4-c5, aiming at a crossfile on the b-file and the white diagonal. Leko's next two moves seem strange, but he is already preparing to regroup his knights to c5.

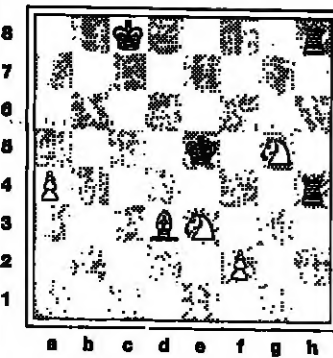
Kb8f 15 e4 Ka8 16 Nb3 e5

17 d5 Nb8 18 a4 a5 19 c5? The typical sacrifice, anticipating Black's knight regroup; but White already stands worse and a better plan may be 19 f3 and Bf2, aiming to exchange both BNs at c5 then to block the K-side by g4 and h5.

dx6 20 Rb1 Ne8 21 f3 Nd6 22 Nd2 f6 23 Rh1 Ka7 24 Bf2 Ba6 25 g4 Bxd3 26 Qxd3 Na6 27 Ke2? After this error, the WK is never safe. Better 27 h5 when mobilising Black's extra Q-side pawn exposes his K. Black might still make progress by another king march, this time to g7.

Qd7 28 Qc2 h5! 29 gxf5 g4 30 Rb1! gxf3 31 Nc3 Qh7 32 Nd2 Qd5+ 33 Ke1 f5! Opening up more entry squares into the white defences. 34 Qd1 Q7 35 Rxf6 Rxf6 36 Rg1 R8 37 Qf3 Qe8 38 Rg5 h4 39 Qg3 Qx4 40 Rxe5 Nc4 41 Nxc4 Qxc4 42 Qe3 a4 43 Resigns. After 43 Qxe4 Qxe4 44 Rxe4 b5 Black's pawns advanced while White's are easily stopped.

No 2382



White mates in three moves, against any defence (by S M Katz, 1995).

No 2382: Leko won by 1 d6! The game ended Rg7? hoping for 2 Ne6 Nd4 2 Qd2 Resigns. White threatens 3 Bxf5 gxf5 4 Nf7+ while if 2... Kg8 3 Qd5+ wins. If 1 d6 Nxd6 2 Rd3 Nf5 3 Qd2 Kg8 4 Bxf5 gxf5 5 Rd6 Qg7 6 Ne6 wins. If 1 d6 Nxd6 2 Rd3 Nf5 3 Rd1 Nf6 4 Be4.



ILLUSTRATION: ROBERTO

## Feline ghosts

Ralph Whitlock

AT LEAST seven or eight letters have fallen on my desk over the past five or six weeks on the intriguing topic of cat ghosts. The first letter is a straightforward one from Popondetta in Papua New Guinea. It starts off with the query, "Have you ever heard of a cat ghost?" and proceeds to answer it.

Several years my family had a well-loved black cat called Minou. When he died at the age of 10 years we acquired a replacement pet for our two children. Minou, however, was determined to live on in spirit. For months after his death he was seen around the house by all the family. Sometimes he would dash out in front of us, almost causing us to trip. At other times we would be obliged to step over him, only to look back and realise there was no cat lying on the floor. Our new kitten seemed oblivious to her ghostly predecessor!

Now a letter from North York,

Ontario. "Some years ago we acquired two kittens. A friend waylaid two people outside the Humane Society building in Toronto who were taking in two cats and two kittens. She begged for the kittens and brought them to us. About two weeks later, I was in bed and falling asleep, when I distinctly felt a cat walking over me. Thinking one of the kittens was in the room, I got up and turned the light on. Nothing. The next day I mentioned this to a friend with whom I shared the house, and he astonished me by saying exactly the same thing had happened to him — the sensation of a cat walking on the bed.

"We could only assume that the kittens' mother, whom the Humane Society had had to destroy, had come back to check on us and to make sure her children were well. The experience was never repeated."

From South Australia: "We had a much loved and extremely active and naughty cat called Sophie. She was an ordinary enough black and white moggie, apart from the fact

that she loved football. Whenever she heard one of the children bouncing a football outside she would hurt herself against the door and demand to join in.

"Sadly, when she was only 18 months old she died a lingering death from a blood disease. During her last few days, she slept at our feet on the bed. When the poor little thing finally died she manifested her usual and unusual characteristics by visiting us and meowing in our bedroom as we were in bed (but not asleep). We both felt her jump on to the bed as begin kneading the bedclothes as then heard her beginning to purr loudly. Naturally, when we got up, turned the light on, she wasn't there."

"I should point out that my husband had been a gravedigger for a few years, and hence neither of us are given to supernatural imaginings. We were, however, astonished by our ghost and have not told our people for fear of being laughed at. To us, however, the occurrence is very real. We have heard the meow and have seen the occasional movement out of the corner of our eyes, but nothing as powerful as our initial experience, and her presence has gradually faded away."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY August 20 1995

## Athletics World Championships

## Johnson joins the golden greats

Guardian Reporters in Gothenburg

SPRINT doubles are the stuff of athletic legend, Jesse Owens and Carl Lewis being two members of this illustrious club, but Texan Michael Johnson went one better here on Sunday when he anchored the United States 400m relay team home to bring his own personal gold standard up to three for these championships and his country's to 12.

## Medals

	Gold	Silver	Bronze
US	12	2	6
Spain	2	2	2
FR	2	2	2
Germany	2	2	2
Cuba	2	2	0
France	2	1	1
Poland	2	1	1
Canada	2	1	1
Ukraine	2	0	0
Angola	2	0	0
Russia	1	4	7
Belarus	1	4	2
Japan	1	3	1
Finland	1	1	1
Bulgaria	1	1	1
Georgia	1	1	0
France	1	1	0
Spain	1	1	0
Belarus	1	1	0
Poland	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Czech Republic	1	0	0
Cuba	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0
Belarus	1	0	0
Spain	1	0	0
Poland	1	0	0
Czech	1	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	